

# The Church and the Money-Lender

REV. HENRY IRWIN, S.J.

## I

Catholic Apologists who undertake to explain the Church's teaching on the vexed question of loan-interest must be prepared to defend a paradox and to refute a calumny. Both one and the other may be briefly stated.

In the first place, as is well known, the Church refused for many centuries to admit that lenders of money were justified in exacting interest as *a matter of course*, however small that interest might be. At the present day, on the other hand, she permits *the practice* of taking a moderate interest. And yet she claims that this change of front is only apparent, and not real; or, in other words, that her doctrine is to-day unchangeably the same as it always was and ever will be in principle, but has varied only in its application. Such is the paradox. Now if there is one accusation more than another which could impair faith in the Church as an infallible teacher, it is that of doctrinal inconsistency. But it is no very difficult task to show that the former prohibitive doctrine of the Church with regard to interest is logically reconcilable with her permissive attitude at the present day.

In the days when Catholicity and Christendom were virtually coextensive in Western Europe, not only did the individual Christian look to the Church for moral guidance in the ordinary affairs of his private life, but statesmen also—many of whom were clerics—were profoundly

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influenced in their legal enactments by the principles laid down by theologians and canon lawyers to enable them to determine what constitutes the justice or injustice of the various business contracts which one man makes with another. They acted on the principle, worthy of more general adoption at the present day, that the State cannot afford to permit as expedient for society what the Church condemns as unjust in the individual. Now, as it so happens, most men are at some time or other in their lives either borrowers or lenders, and consequently the contract of loan—especially the loan of money—came in for particular attention. In fact, the minuteness of analysis to which this and other contracts were subjected by Catholic moralists has been of invaluable service to the elaboration of economic theory. It is not without justice that the canonist discussions have been described by a competent judge as the “midwife of modern economics.” (*Ashley, Economic History, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 397, 3rd ed.*)

The Church, as the recognized arbiter of commutative justice in matters of loan, laid down the sufficiently self-evident principle that for a loan to be just there should be equivalence in value between what was lent and what was repaid. Everything, then, depended on determining how that equivalence was to be measured. In modern times, if a man lent another £100 at the beginning of the year and received £100 at the end of it, by way of repayment, just so much and no more, he could not be said to have recovered at the end of the loan the equivalent in value of what he lent at the beginning. The reason is obvious. He could argue that, if he had not lent the money, he, *like anybody else*, could have invested it in some form of remunerative enterprise, other than loan, from which he could with moral certainty have counted



on receiving a dividend of—let us say—four per cent. In order then to indemnify himself for the loss of that dividend, he is clearly within his rights in stipulating, when he lends the money, to receive at least that amount by way of interest. Otherwise he would be out of pocket by the transaction.

It will be observed in the example I have just given that the amount of interest which may be justifiably exacted is to be estimated by the amount of compensation due to the lender, in order to cover the risk he runs of losing his money or the losses he can prove he has sustained or stands to suffer with moral certainty for no other reason than because he lent the money. This point is of vital importance to the theory of usury. So far as the claims of justice are concerned—and usury is essentially a sin against justice—loan-interest is to be calculated entirely from the side of the creditor. What the borrower wants the money for has nothing to do with the case, except on the rare occasions when he is in dire necessity, and charity requires that the lender should forego a profit to which he is strictly entitled. Fortunately for the poor, the necessitous and the oppressed, justice does not exhaust a man's moral obligations to his neighbor. Charity may at times step in to temper the strict demands of justice. Usury is not necessarily a sin against charity, for it can be committed against the rich, but when it is practised to the ruin or detriment of the very poor its malice is aggravated by a sin against charity. That much no genuine Christian will gainsay. The borrower, then, may solicit the loan either for production or consumption; he may want the money, for example, to spend in the purchase or sale of Marconi shares, or in buying household goods, or he may squander it, if he is

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so foolish, in living riotously. All that is neither here nor there to the lender. Of course, it may be of service to him to know whether his money is, as a rule, borrowed for productive investments, and if so, what they will yield; for such knowledge may enable him to inquire whether these investments are open to himself and thereby to estimate by the amount of dividends realized, what is the extent of the alternative gain he might have personally made, had he not divested himself of his money for the sake of the borrower. Calvin was, therefore, wrong in saying that interest could lawfully be taken from the rich, but not from the poor; for even in Calvin's time there would have been cases in which it would have been usury to exact interest, however moderate, from a rich man. (*Böhm-Bawertc, Capital and Interest, p. 29.*) It is no less erroneous to argue, as many economists have done, that the creditor is entitled to interest because, through lending his money, he renders a useful service to the borrower.(1)

This contention will be more readily grasped by carefully attending to the distinction, made in substance by St. Thomas Aquinas, between the two different kinds of value that may attach to an article according to the manner in which it subserves the wants of men. It may either have a use-value or a market-value. An article is said to have a use-value when it has a special utility to a particular person which causes him to esteem it. Such a value-in-use attached to the bow of Ulysses, which only

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(1) Claudio Jannet, *Le Capital*, etc., p. 83: "L'idée de Bentham, de Hume, de Turgot, de Bastiat, que le *service rendu* est la cause de la perception de l'intérêt, amènerait à justifier toutes les spéculations sur les passions ou la position embarrassée de tel ou tel emprunteur."

he could bend. On the other hand, a commodity is said to have a market-value, when its utility to society in general is such that it is universally prized as a thing which may be given or taken in exchange for other commodities. The market-value is determined by supply and demand; it is the power of the article in commercial exchange, and the measure of that power is called its price, whether expressed in terms of money or otherwise. So far as the justice of the price is concerned, moralists lay down the rule that the seller can justly demand for his wares the price ruling in the market, provided that the market has not been fraudulently manipulated, no matter whether they are quite useless to him or have cost him nothing to produce or to procure. (*Vermeersch, Quaestiones de Justitia*, p. 428, *Sccs.* 342-345, 2nd ed.)

It is quite different with use-value. Here the rule is that, when the utility of a thing to a particular individual is altogether peculiar to himself, it is not just in private exchange, which is based on the use-value of the article, to take advantage of his exceptional need of it to charge for it, notably in excess of its market-value. If, for example, I have a set of the first edition of Thackeray's novels in boards, which only wants a copy of *Esmond* to complete it, the addition of that single novel would enhance the value of my collection, as a whole, out of all proportion to the value of the *Esmond* taken in isolation. If, then, you have a copy of *Esmond* of the first edition, and knew that it would add £20 to the value of my collection, it would not be just of you to charge me £20 for it, if you knew that no second-hand book-dealer in Charing Cross Road or anywhere else would give you more than five pounds for it.

The reason is given by St. Thomas Aquinas: "If one

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party," he says, "is much benefited by the commodity which he receives of the other, while the other, the seller, is not a loser by going without the article, no extra price must be put on. The reason is because the benefit that accrues to one party is not from the seller, but from the condition of the buyer. Now, no one ought to sell another that which is not his, though he may sell the loss he suffers. He, however, who is much benefited by the commodity he receives of another may spontaneously bestow some extra recompense on the seller; that is the part of one who has the feelings of a gentleman." (2a 2a, Q. 77, art. 1, in corp., tr. Rickaby.) Accordingly, reverting to the illustration of the Thackerays, the advantage that would accrue to me from getting your copy of *Esmond* would rather be due to my having an otherwise complete set of the first edition than to the *Esmond* having taken on a supplementary value in itself. In other words, the increment of value arose rather from my side than from yours, and you ought not to claim a greater share in it than is represented by the market-value, more or less, of your *Esmond*. I should be very ungrateful, however, were I to pay you only that amount, but in strict justice it would be all to which you are entitled.

The distinction between use-value and market-value, between private and commercial exchange, may be best illustrated by taking an extreme case. Let me recount what may be called a *Parable of the Bad Samaritan*. An Arab, named Averroes, was riding through the desert carrying with him a bag of pearls, when suddenly his camel went lame. His situation was serious, because the nearest well was several miles distant, and by an unhappy chance his water-bottle had sprung a leak and was now empty. Not willing to leave his camel, and being on the

main track, he thought he could chance waiting for a passer-by; but none came. Presently the pangs of thirst began to tell on him, and he sank fainting to the ground. In this pass, another Bedouin, named Avicenna, came along. He perceived the dying Averroes on the sand and recognized his critical condition. He dismounted, opened his flask, and was just about to put the cup to the lips of the sufferer, when his eyes caught sight of the pearls, which the despairing man had taken out to look upon, as he had thought, for the last time. Instantly avarice transformed Avicenna from a good Samaritan into a heartless Shylock. Averroes' extremity was his opportunity. He began to bargain for the pearls. He had the dying man absolutely at his mercy, and both of them knew it; and so, Esau-like, Averroes bartered away his precious gems for a cup of water.

Who will say that this was not a hard and unconscionable bargain? It is no use saying that Averroes acted with his eyes open. He was like the apothecary who sold the poison to Romeo, sorely against the grain, muttering the while to palliate his weakness, "My poverty and not my will consents." We all feel instinctively that such a contract was unjust. But why? It is all very well to sit in judgment on Avicenna; but if we are to be accounted reasonable, we must be able to assign some more specific principle than mere sentiment which he may be said to have violated. I defy anyone to advance a cogent ground for condemning Avicenna except that of St. Thomas, viz., that it was a case of charging a purchaser up to the full use-value to *him* of an article without reference to its use-value to the *seller* or its market-value to the world at large. Had Avicenna met another Arab who wanted a drink a mile further on, he would have been content to

receive the usual market price of water, as sold by one Bedouin to another in the desert, a price conceived by general consent to cover the cost of transport, say a shekel a cup. Under the circumstances even a single pearl would have been an exorbitant price to exact of the purchaser; yet he might have been willing to pay it out of gratitude. When, however, Avicenna charged Averroes the price of all his pearls, he was deliberately exploiting his victim's necessity; he was exacting a price for an advantage accruing to Averroes from the water, an advantage that arose out of his distressed condition and not out of any exceptional risk, expense, or trouble on the part of the seller. His gain, therefore, over and above a shekel, was an unearned increment, if ever there was one.

The principle just enunciated is no less applicable to the contract of loan than to that of sale and purchase. In the Middle Ages, "when," as Professor Ashley (*Ashley, l.c.*, p. 395) says, "trade and manufacture were carried on by special bodies, in special places, with special privileges, when the whole of life was composed of measured services and regulated duties," money had a use-value for the select few, who could engage in merchant adventure, as it was termed, which it did not possess for many of those who had spare coins in their coffers. Not everyone who had money could argue that he was potentially a merchant, for the simple reason that not everybody, but only a very few, had facilities or legal freedom to engage in commerce. Those were days when money was usually employed for purposes of private exchange, as for instance by a rural population in purchasing instruments of husbandry or the necessities of life; when the economic order reposed rather on labor than on capital; when,

in short, the favored individual who could make a profit by mercantile enterprise could claim that his gains were due rather to his exceptional ability, industry, or opportunity, than to any inherent efficiency of capital. To such a one money had a use-value, but not necessarily to the man who lent to him. The latter had no right to act on the assumption that when he lent his money to a merchant he was personally and as a matter of course foregoing a merchant's profit on it. If, then, he claimed unconditionally and without further investigation a percentage of the merchant-borrower's profits, in addition to the return of his capital, he was reaping where he had not sown; he was claiming an indemnity for what he had not lost; he was usurping a gain due to the use-value of his money to another, where it had no corresponding market price or use-value to himself. That was usury.

The same is true of the money-lender at the present day whose client is in a tight place, as the saying is, and whom the usurer accommodates with a loan, not on terms that have any relation to the market rate, but directly in proportion to the tightness of the place in which he has got his victim. A familiar example is the cashier who has fingered the money in the till, has gambled with it, and lost. That money must be back in its place by the day of audit, or ruin, perhaps a criminal trial, will ensue. He approaches a professional money-lender and asks for a loan to the amount he has embezzled. The latter has an intuition of the motive of his client. He inquires what salary he gets, and then he draws his bill by which he calculates to enmesh the borrower for months and perhaps for years in his toils. He does not absorb the whole salary; that would be to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. He leaves his victim enough for a bare sub-

sistence. If the latter has the indiscretion to make a sort of Father Confessor of his unctuous benefactor, woe betide him! He is fashioning scourges for his own back. From that moment he must be prepared to reckon for a lifetime, not so much with the extortions of usury as with, what is far more galling, periodical requisitions of blackmail.

It is now time to state in so many words precisely what the Church forbade and what she allowed with regard to interest on money. It will then be opportune to examine the reasons for her action in either case. In a pregnant definition of usury formulated at the fifth Council of Lateran, in 1515, which crystallized her unvarying previous doctrine on the subject, the Church declared: "Usury is properly interpreted to be the attempt to draw profit and increment without labor, without cost and without risk, out of the use of a thing that does not fructify." (*Lehmkuhl, Theol. Mor., i, Sec. 1092.*) What, then, is referred to in that definition under the phrase, "a thing that does not fructify"? Such a thing would be butter, beer, or flour. Unlike an orchard or a milch-cow, butter, beer and flour bear no fruit. Their only use is their immediate consumption. When, therefore, I lend you a stone of flour, a firkin of butter, or a gallon of beer, none of these things bear any fruit in your hands any more than they would have done in mine, had I retained possession of them. In one word, they are sterile. The medieval canonists called them "fungible" things, inasmuch as equal, but not identical amounts of them, the quality and market price remaining the same, can function in payment for one another. Thus, when I lend you a bottle of wine to drink or a ton of coal for fuel in your kitchen, I should be satisfied to receive in repayment an-



other bottle of wine or another ton of coal of the same quality that would fetch the same market price. Accordingly, if I exacted interest from you in the shape of a little extra wine or coal at the termination of the loan, I could only do so on the ground of some supposed fruitfulness, which by hypothesis these articles, regarded as purely consumable commodities, do not possess. Consequently a loan of these fungible or generic goods is on the face of it a gratuitous one. Shorn of all extrinsic considerations, there is really nothing in the loan for which I can charge interest. Justice is satisfied if the principal is repaid.

Again, when I lend you such things as these, they are entirely at your disposal till it is time to repay them. If I lent you a tin of biscuits, I could not claim that that particular tin was in any sense still my property. All I am entitled to is a similar tin of the same variety of biscuits later on. That is what is meant by saying that the dominion over fungible things that are lent is transferred from the lender to the borrower. That it is so is plain. I have no right to enter your dining-room and help myself liberally to the tin of biscuits I lent you. If I did, you could have me up for larceny. Moreover, once you have received them from me, they are at your risk. If through an accident they become uneatable, the loss is yours, not mine. You are not thereby absolved from repaying me. It follows that I have no right to inquire what you do with the biscuits. Even if you made an interim profit on them by selling them to a picnic party, I could not claim a share in that profit; for it does not follow that because the picnic party dealt with you they would have dealt with me. The gain is the fruit of your opportunity, rather than of the biscuits as such. If I

insisted then on sharing it with you, that would be usury.

It follows then that the loan of things that by their nature are destined for immediate consumption is *per se* a gratuitous contract. Therefore no interest should be exacted for it, merely because of the loan. Still there are circumstances which may or may not accompany a loan of such things, and therefore may be regarded as extrinsic to the loan, under which even the severest moralists would allow some interest to be exacted. So much is implied by the official definition of usury. If a lender of fungible things advances them on insufficient security; if he suffers loss by so doing; or if through depriving himself of them during the period of the loan he misses a chance of making an interim profit out of them, he is allowed to indemnify himself to that extent.(1)

That being so, the question is—was there ever a time when money, which in the Middle Ages existed exclusively in the shape of coin, could be assimilated as a rule to fungible things, such as I have mentioned. If there was, then money at such a time was *per se* sterile, and interest could no more justly be exacted for the loan of it than for the loan of wine or flour, unless the lender could prove that he had run some risk, or sustained some loss, or sacrificed some alternative profit by lending out his money for the sake of the borrower. In the absence of any such title, interest on a loan of money could only be regarded as usury, or what Shakespeare, borrowing the

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(1) "A charge by way of *penalty for culpable delay in repayment* may also justly be stipulated for, provided it is moderate in proportion to the principal, and is entered in the bond to ensure punctuality, and not with the express intention on the part of the creditor that it shall be incurred. An honest and businesslike debtor need not incur it." (*Lehmkuhl*, i, Sec. 1100.)

language of Aristotle, describes as "a breed of barren metal." Still, it was not upon the physical incapacity of money to bring forth, like cattle, according to its kind, that the canonists based their view of its sterility. Their argument went much deeper than that. Money was likened by them to consumable or unproductive things, because in the effectuation of private exchange it is consumed artificially, or, as the canonists used to say, *civilly*, just as milk or porridge is *naturally*. When money was—what in medieval times it usually was—an instrument of private exchange, and when moreover it was readily convertible into articles of consumption, but by no means so readily into instruments of production, then the assumption that it could be looked upon as a fungible thing was quite in order. The loan of it, therefore, was essentially a gratuitous contract, in which the amount to be repaid was required to balance exactly the amount lent. In a word, any six silver coins of a certain assay were repayable by any half dozen others of the same assay.

The medieval moralists' view of money, therefore, was that in the economic conditions in which they lived, it was as a rule virtually unproductive; and it was because of this its sterility that they forbade interest to be taken on the loan of it.<sup>(1)</sup> Now when a man assigns a specific

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(1) As Archdeacon Cunningham says: "Medieval capital was lent for purposes of unproductive consumption. Thus applied, the money failed to bring about an increase of wealth, but remained, as Aristotle would have said, 'barren.' This fact goes far to account for the long-continued prejudice against Jews and Lombards. Since no addition to the wealth of the community arose through their intervention, it seemed that any gain accruing to them in their operations must have been made at the expense

ground for objecting to a proposition, once that reason ceases to be valid, it is only reasonable to concede that he may without inconsistency withdraw his objection. This is precisely the situation of the Catholic Church with regard to money-lending at interest. *She objected to the practice of taking interest, as a practice, but she did not necessarily object to interest on the isolated loan.* But here you may perhaps object: "How can that be? If she allowed interest to one, why not to all? And if on one occasion, why not habitually?" I answer, her reasons for forbidding interest might be, and were, valid in general, but not necessarily in every individual case. Her position is that money was formerly as a rule sterile. On the other hand, had she issued a general license to lenders to take interest, that would have been tantamount to admitting that money could always and everywhere be presumed to be virtually productive. That was an admission which, for many centuries, the economic conditions did not justify. Therefore she refused to allow Christians to act upon it. Still, it would be most untrue to say that the Church ever forbade interest under all conceivable circumstances. She expressly admitted that there might be exceptional circumstances, as in the case of Hanseatic or Florentine financiers, in which the lender might be presumed to stand to lose by the privation of his money, because he could prove that alternative profitable investments other than money-lending were open to him. (*H. Pesch, Die sociale Befähigung der Kirche, p.*

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of the borrowers, and ought to be condemned as extortionate. . . . At that time very few opportunities existed for so using capital that it should not only bring in a return to the owner, but also increase the wealth of the community." (*Cambridge Modern History, i. p. 499*).

443. 2nd edit.) In such cases she conceded that the demand for interest was just. In point of fact, there never was a more apposite case of the exception proving the rule than in regard to the canonist view of the efficiency of money. The very difficulty the medieval lender experienced in trying to prove that one or more extrinsic claims to interest were valid in his particular case is a significant indication that in that epoch money as a rule was sterile. Had the Church given a general approval to the practice of taking interest, what happened to Calvin would have happened to her. He gave a very guarded sanction to the practice, and in so doing, he observed with much misgiving: "If we make the least concession, many will use it as a pretext, and will snatch at a bridleless license, which can never afterwards be checked by any moderation or exception." He was right. "In after years," writes Professor Ashley, "Calvin's great authority was invoked for the wide proposition that to take reward for the loan of money was never sinful." (*Ashley, l.c.*, pp. 459, 460.)

The attitude of the Catholic Church never lent itself to these sinister interpretations. In the second Council of Lyons in 1274 and in that of Vienne in 1311, she forbade Christian corporations and governments to sanction the practice of lending at interest within their jurisdiction. (*Lehmkuhl, i.* 1908.) At the same time she was content that interest might be permitted in the case of lenders who could show that in their particular case it could be justified by invoking some extrinsic title. She admitted these titles with great caution, especially that in virtue of which a lender exacted interest as compensation for a supposed sacrifice of alternative profit. (*Ashley, l.c.*, pp. 400, 405; 457, 458.) Thus, while she secured justice for

borrowers in general, she contrived to do no injustice to any individual lender. An example will illustrate the reasonableness of her procedure. Although the general prohibition of usury was not withdrawn till the year 1830, yet as far back as 1643 Innocent X approved the practice of Christian money-lenders in China who exacted as much as thirty per cent. interest, as insurance against the unusual risks they ran in lending money to unreliable debtors. (*De Ligorio, Theol. Mor.*, p. 765.) The practice of the Church formerly was to require proof in each case when interest was taken that it was justified by some extrinsic title. However, since the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century economic conditions have been so entirely changed that money can no longer be regarded as virtually unproductive, and the proof in every loan of an extrinsic title is no longer necessary. Money now possesses the properties of Capital, since it is now, for a reason I shall shortly explain, what Adam Smith defined Capital to be, namely, "Stock which is expected to afford a revenue." (*Wealth of Nations*, bk. ii. ch. i. p. 275 ed. Rogers.) no matter how small its amount, and no matter what the position of its owner. *The quality of virtual productiveness attaches in this epoch so invariably to money, that, while our capitalistic regime lasts it may be said practically to amount to an intrinsic title to a moderate interest, whenever money is lent.*

What may further serve to illustrate the mediæval infertility of money is to show how it has ceased to be sterile in modern times. There are two ways in which money can take on a productive character, either as an instrument for the facilitation of manufacturers and commercial exchange, or else in its representative character, in so far as it is readily convertible into the instruments

of production. In the former capacity it is no less indispensable to the merchant and to the captain of industry than are his tools to the carpenter. A man may have business aptitude and opportunity; he may have an innate capacity for capturing goodwill, stimulating new wants, and forecasting changes of fashion; in short he may possess any or all of the hundred and one qualities that make for success; but if he has no capital he is disabled from turning those qualities directly to advantage. To engage in the struggle of commerce, he must have the sinews of war. However, a man with such endowments can generally get control of capital. Nowadays no one who has money, be it ever so small a sum, need want for an investment. There is no restriction, legal or otherwise, to prevent him engaging in business, either personally or by investment in the funds of a joint-stock company. He has at his disposal abundant means of transport and communication; the highways of commerce by land and sea are secure in peace and protected by international law in war; every day new sources of natural wealth are being tapped, and money is clamoured for to exploit some new and fortune-making patent. The great towns are feverishly active hives of human activity, and the whole world virtually competes in the same market. Anyone then who has money can traffic with it, and whoever lends it can exact interest to the amount that he could reasonably hope to make with it if he invested it otherwise than in loan. Now, just reverse all these conditions, and you have the economic circumstances of the Middle Ages. Money was largely monopolized; goods did not circulate freely; trade was confined to close corporations, like the merchant-adventurers of York, and

no one who had not large disposable funds could associate himself as a partner in merchant adventure.

Now let us consider money in its representative character. To-day no one has any difficulty in finding remunerative employment for his money; land changes hands freely; there is scarcely any form of productive agency, not to say consumable wares, which does not fall into the category of "promiscuous money's worth." In the middle ages it was not so. The Feudal System, for one thing, tied up land more effectually than the modern law of entail, so that as Professor Ashley says, "it would often be possible to buy a rent-charge, where it would not be possible to buy land itself." (*Ashley, l.c p. 406.*) In short, according to Father Joseph Rickaby's masterly summary of former conditions:

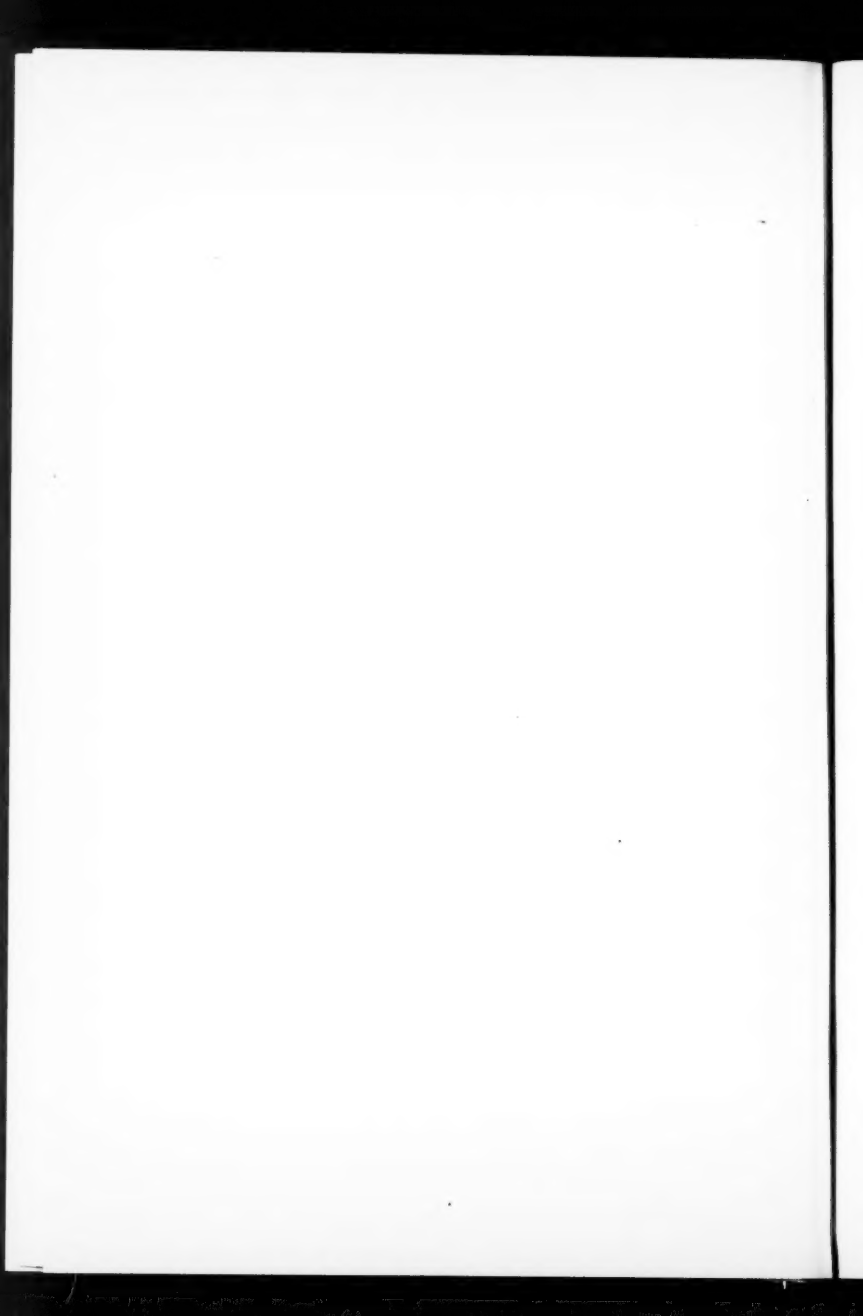
"In the Middle Ages land was hard to buy, agriculture backward, roads bad, seas unnavigable, carrying trade precarious, messages slow, raids and marauders frequent, population sparse, commerce confined to a few centres, mines unworked, manufactures mostly domestic, capital yet unformed. Men kept their money in their cellars or deposited it for safety in religious houses, whence the stories of treasure-trove belonging to those days. They took out the coin as they wanted it to spend on house-keeping, or on war, or on feasting. It was hard, next to impossible to lay out money so as to make more money by it. Money was in those days really barren—a resource for housekeeping not for trade—a medium of private exchange—a representative of use-value, not of market-value. (*Moral Philosophy, p. 261, 3rd edit.*)"

To sum up, in former centuries the Church prohibited interest as a rule; she allowed it only as an exception. Now she prohibits it only as an exception, when it is ex-



cessive, she allows it as a rule. She forbade it when money was generally barren; she permits it now that money is virtually productive. Where is the inconsistency? There is here no contradiction; only another instance of the Church's wonderful sameness amid change, of her adaptability to circumstances coupled with fidelity to principle. As she never has relaxed her severity with regard to divorce, however flattered or menaced she might be, so she will never sanction usury. Here is one more proof that she is the one divinely appointed custodian of Christian morality. Amid the clash of conflicting interests, she maintains the balance of justice, and emerges from the ordeal with her reputation for consistency, not only untarnished but enhanced.

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# The Church and the Money-Lender

REV. HENRY IRWIN, S.J.

## II

The consistency of the Catholic Church in her teaching on loan-interest has already been established in a previous article. (*The Month*, November, 1913.) It was there shown that, while she discountenanced the practice of money-lending at interest in former times, she permits it to-day, and that her reason for this apparent modification of her doctrine is to be sought in the altered character of money, which in the Middle Ages was normally barren, but is at the present day virtually productive. However, for all her consistency, the Church finds herself, as the result of her teaching in this epoch and in that, between a veritable Scylla and Charybdis. (*J. Biederlack, Der Darlehenszins*, pp. 5, 6.) Her prohibition and her permission are each of them fastened on by opposing schools of economists as grounds of attack. The *laissez faire* school would have it that the canonist prohibition of usury hindered the natural evolution of trade and industry by discouraging the growth of credit, whereas the Socialist would make the Church's sanction of interest responsible for all the abuses of modern capital. Thus exposed she does well to take refuge in the advice of St. Paul, exhibiting herself "the minister of God, in much patience . . . by the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left." (*2 Cor. vi*, 4, 7.)

The following article is, therefore, devoted to rebut-

ting the first of these indictments, since it deals with what historically precedes the second. The most that can be attempted in the compass of these few pages is to give a mere skeleton of the line of argument, without entering into cumbrous technicalities which, however permissible and even desirable in a more elaborate treatise, would here serve only to confuse the issue. In answer to the objection that the Church retarded the development of credit, it will be shown that she made ample allowances for the requirements of commerce and industry, and that she actually kept pace with their advances, at once more rapidly and consistently than the civil power itself. Further, that Catholic countries, especially those more nearly in touch with Rome, and therefore better able to understand and apply the canonist principles, were in the van rather than in the rear of economic progress; that their decline in relative prestige and importance has been falsely ascribed to ecclesiastical interference; that the Church performed an inestimably valuable function as the champion of the economically weak; and lastly that the vindication of the position she took up on this question of money-lending in the Middle Ages is writ large in the return of many of the leading States of Europe, including England, to a form of usury laws, which virtually endorses her principles and is designed to check just precisely that pernicious form of credit against which the canonist prohibition of usury was levelled.

Those who represent the Church as having hindered the natural formation and investment of capital, and consequently the production of wealth and well-being, may be divided into two classes. The first draw the *a priori* conclusion that she *must* have impeded material progress;

the second essay to give some reason for this inference. As a specimen of the former style of argument, we may quote the words of Böhn-Bawerk (*Capital and Interest*, pp. 19, 20. *Italics in all cases are ours*):—

"The very ample and careful attention which these writers (first the canon lawyers and then the legists) gave to the subject is chiefly due to the fact that the prohibition of interest pressed more hardly as time went on, and required to be more strongly defended against the reaction of the trade it oppressed. *The prohibition had originally been imposed in economical circumstances of such a nature that it was easily borne.* Moreover, during its first hundred years, the prohibition had so little command of external force that where practical life felt itself hampered by the restraint it could disregard it without much danger. But later, as industry and commerce grew, their increasing necessity for credit *must have made* the hampering effects of the prohibition increasingly vexatious."

The same charge is made in categorical terms by the late Mr. Lecky.<sup>(1)</sup> His statement has the advantage of being quite direct and unequivocal:

"As it is quite certain that commercial and industrial enterprise cannot be carried on on a large scale without borrowing, and as it is equally certain that these loans can only be effected by paying for them in the shape of interest, it is no exaggeration to say that the Church had cursed the material development of civilization. As long as the doctrine of usury was believed and acted on, the

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(1) *History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii. p. 262. 4th edition. This work is still quoted as a *locus classicus* on this subject. Cf. A. Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, i. p. 584, n. 1 (5th ed.).

arm of industry was paralyzed, and the expansion of commerce arrested, and all the countless blessings that have flowed from them withheld."

The author of this imposing passage was just twenty-six when he published the work in which they occur. It dealt with many other subjects besides that under discussion. Notwithstanding the writer's marvelous industry and precocious talents, he could hardly claim to be a specialist in so multifarious a variety of topics as he there undertakes to discuss. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should have betrayed here or there a somewhat shallow versatility. Like sundry politicians who in recent years first contrived to secure their place in the sun by assiduously devoting themselves to the task of baiting the most conspicuous possible Cabinet Minister, so Lecky consciously or unconsciously strove to gain notoriety by this assault on a no less venerable institution than the Catholic Church. To assure his readers of his competency to speak with authority, he obliquely conveys the impression of acquaintance with "all the old Catholic works on the Canon Law and on Moral Philosophy," and with "nearly every book that has ever been written on the Canon Law." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 254, 255.) If these are really his credentials, it is not a little strange that his researches have led him to a conclusion contradicted in so many words by the best informed economic opinion of the present day.

It would be arrogance to speak in patronizing terms of the high qualifications of such masters of economic history and theory as Archdeacon Cunningham, of Professor J. S. Nicholson of Edinburgh, or of Professor W. J. Ashley, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce in Birmingham University. Their authority in the department of

science which they profess is unchallenged. They are not mere recent graduates, anxious to make a name by saying something startling; they have devoted a lifetime to the study of their subject. Not being Catholics, they can have no motive for defending the action of the medieval Church except zeal for scientific accuracy and historical truth. Their independence of judgment in criticising other spheres of ecclesiastical activity shows that their opinions on the usury prohibition proceed from no "clerically-minded" source. What, then, is their considered verdict on this matter? It is diametrically opposed to that of Lecky. They take the view that when the usury prohibition was at its severest its severity was justified by the peculiar nature of the economic circumstances which it was designed to regulate.

"The development of the Canonist doctrine on loan-interest," says Professor Nicholson (*Pol. Econ.*, iii, 132, 133), "was much more than a straining of a text of Aristotle on the barrenness of money. It had, no doubt, its negative side, and its prohibitions and condemnations, if applied *verbatim et litteratim* to modern conditions would make Lombard Street as deserted as Pompeii. Such a test, however, is altogether unfair. The proper comparison, so far as condemnation was concerned, is not Lombard Street, but Isaac Gordon. The Canonist writers were dealing with those very practices in the condemnation of which the last (1900) Money-Lending Act is obliged to resort to the medieval term 'unconscionable.' The Canonist doctrine was an attempt to provide religious, moral, and legal sanctions against abuses that were universal in all early civilizations, and which survive as important exceptions at the present time."

This view is in complete agreement with that of Dr.

Cunningham. (*Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages*, pp. 258, 259, 3rd Edition.)

"It is commonly supposed," he writes, "that narrow-minded ecclesiastics laid down an arbitrary and unjustifiable rule against taking interest, and that they hampered the growth of trade. The rule was not arbitrary, but commended itself to ordinary common-sense, *and it did not hamper trade*. The limits which were laid down in regard to money loans were not so narrow as modern writers appear to suppose, and every encouragement was given to men who could afford it to make gratuitous loans for definite periods, as a form of Christian charity; *and it may be confidently affirmed that no real hindrance was put in the way of material progress in the then existing state of society by these restrictions*. Tillage was so generally carried on by communities, or at any rate was so far cooperative that the cultivator would rarely be reduced to borrowing money, as the Eastern peasantry do. Poverty probably meant a greater personal dependence on a manorial lord, not a constant dread of the exactions of usurers. Nor was it necessary for the artisan to borrow, as in all probability his gild would supply the means of carrying on his trade, if unexpected losses or sickness crippled his resources; while generally speaking, the stock-in-trade required was very small, as he often worked on materials supplied by customers. If he was engaged on a long job where money was needed, he could borrow for the purpose on terms which remunerated the lender with a share in the profits, without being guilty of usury, as understood by St. Thomas Aquinas. *The merchants, too, were not restrained from using the capital of other men in their ventures, or from remunerating*



*them for the risk involved.* The cases in which men were reduced to borrow without being able to offer the lenders a profitable partnership were those where kings and barons were suddenly called on to meet the expenses of a military expedition, or where land-holders and ecclesiastics had to borrow to meet the calls of royal or papal taxation; borrowing for the sake of building magnificent works or for other purposes of display we need not consider. Medieval usury was quite unlike that of pagan and Eastern countries, *for it was prevented from attacking and preying on the industrial resources of the country*; the comfortable classes and ecclesiastics were those who suffered most by being occasionally forced to apply to bankers or Jews when they really needed coins."

The usury prohibition was at first confined to the clergy. In the ninth century it was extended to the laity; and in the twelfth it was incorporated in the civil codes. There are two distinct periods to which it applied, the one a period of comparative stagnation, the other of rapidly increasing economic activity. Naturally, as the presumption on which the usury prohibition rested—namely, the virtual unproductiveness of money—became less and less true, its severity was progressively more and more relaxed. Dr. Cunningham would extend the first period alluded to into the early fifteenth century. With the dawn of the era of discovery and colonization and with the importation of an unprecedented supply of the precious metals from the New World, capital began to be formed and applied on a scale hitherto unknown.

Taking separately the two periods just mentioned, we have to inquire whether in either or both the usury prohibition hindered economic progress. If it did, then this must have been because it withdrew from agriculturists

the means of improving land, from traders or manufacturers the necessary facilities for pushing their business, or from the State the funds required to carry on the government for the general welfare. That is the question.

The reply is that in neither period was capital disabled by the Church's teaching and discipline on loan-interest from supplying the legitimate needs of agriculture, commerce, or government. The landowner was able to procure funds for the improvement of his estate by selling a rent-charge upon it; the merchant by taking a capitalist into partnership; and the exchequer by issuing government bonds. The Church not only approved but by her example positively encouraged the first two of these forms of investment, and did not condemn the third.<sup>(1)</sup> Advances of money made on these conditions were free from all taint of usury, provided the contracts involved were *bona fide* and not made on exorbitant terms. As Professor Nicholson commends (*Pol. Econ.*, iii, p. 134, n. 1) the "remarkable clearness and judicial impartiality" with which Dr. Cunningham and Professor Ashley "bring out the growth of medieval opinion and the adaptation of opinion to changes in the economic environment," the reader may be referred to the works of those authors, to which copious reference is made in the foot-notes. It must suffice here to emphasize four things; first, that these contracts were admirably adapted to the conditions of the time; secondly, that they gave available capital all the vent it required; thirdly, that through them capital was diverted from unproductive

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(1) Ashley, *Econ. Hist.*, II. ii. 447-9. W. Endemann, *Studien in der romanischkanonistischen Wirthschafts- und Rechtslehre*, i. pp. 431-460.

loans to purposes that increased national wealth; and last, but not least, that it is a calumny to say that they were mere evasions of the usury prohibition, connived at by the Church, when she found herself in open conflict with the business opinion of the day. The purchase of a rent-charge differed radically from a mere loan at interest. By the terms of the contract the capitalist was not entitled to demand back his money from the person to whom he had advanced it; he could, however, recover it by selling his title to a third party. Similarly, the sleeping partner who associated himself in merchant adventure with another, whose contribution consisted in the labor of superintendence, could only recover his capital or interest if the venture succeeded. The learned Endemann, whose religious bias led him to suggest that the Church forbade under one form of contract substantially the same kind of profit on money lent as she allowed under another, is justly and severely rebuked by Professor Ashley. (*Econ. Hist.*, II, ii, pp. 420, 421; 428.) He shows how both these contracts were independent growths, and did not originate merely in the effort to dodge the usury prohibition, or to save the face of the Church by enabling her gracefully to retire from an untenable position. He points out that those who like Endemann regard the contracts of rent-charge (*census*) and business-partnership with limited liability (*commenda*) as covert loans proceed on a false assumption. They assume that the natural form in which to invest capital is in the form of loan at interest; whereas in point of fact only a relatively small amount of capital, even in our own day, if we except public debts, is so invested. Rent-charges were a form of investment much resorted to by monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions,

since they assured the investor a secure and regular, if somewhat diminished income, while they saved him the labor of managing a further extension of landed property himself. As for business partnership, Pope Innocent III, a redoubtable enemy of usury, particularly recommended it in the year 1206 as a form of investment in which dowries might be invested so as to yield a lawful profit. (*Ashley*, p. 419.)

The exigencies of trade were still further met by the permission of nautical insurance (*foenus nauticum*) and the practice of *interesse*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 421—425; 397—405.) By the former shipmasters could raise funds to purchase cargo or for payment of their crews by pledging their ships to a capitalist. The capital was to be returned with interest only if the ship returned safe. Lending money on terms that exposed the lender to such risk of loss was clearly a different thing from an advance of fully secured money, to be repaid with interest unconditionally.

The method of *interesse*, by which the Lombards eluded the usury prohibition, required the lender to make a gratuitous loan for at least a short period, and if by the end of that time it was not repaid, he was permitted to charge, on one or both of two different grounds, a reasonable interest, either by way of *conventional penalty for default*, or to indemnify the lender for such *sacrifice of profit* as he could reasonably maintain he suffered by foregoing the use of his money for the borrower's benefit. Such a presumption was legitimate in the case of lenders who, like Italian capitalists, could urge that, when they lent to monks or nobles in momentary need of money to pay tithes or taxes, they were advancing capital they could have easily employed at home at a profit in trade or industry.

The unpopularity of the Lombards, especially the Caursines, was due no doubt to the fact that their loans were for unproductive purposes and also that under cover of a contract, legitimate in itself, they charged an exorbitant price for their accommodation. (*Cunningham, Growth, &c.*, p. 208.)

That the foregoing forms of contract, conscientiously used as a means of gaining profit on money, were in no sense identical with the practice of usury, but as a matter of fact differed widely from it in the beneficial character of their effects, is thus stated by Professor Ashley, (*Econ. Hist.*, II, ii, p. 438.)

"Speaking of the middle of the fifteenth century . . . we may fairly say that *these methods satisfied business needs* and that there was no strong demand on the part of those engaged in trade for the repeal of the usury prohibition. *It is altogether misleading and unfair, then, to speak of the prohibition as putting obstacles in the way of the employment of capital.* So far as wealth was intended to serve as capital, it found ways open for its employment—ways *which were adequate for the time, and against which the Canonists had not a word to say.*"

That being so, can we be surprised that even Lecky admits that there is "a little exaggeration" in the grotesque, not to say scandalously untrue, statement of Montesquieu. "Thus we owe to the speculations of the scholastics all the misfortunes that have accompanied the destruction of commerce." (*Lecky, l.c.*, p. 262, n. 2. *Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois*, xxi, 20.)

From the end of the fifteenth century both Church and State accorded greater freedom of money contract. Rent charges on movable property and even on the general credit of persons in quest of capital (*census personalis*)

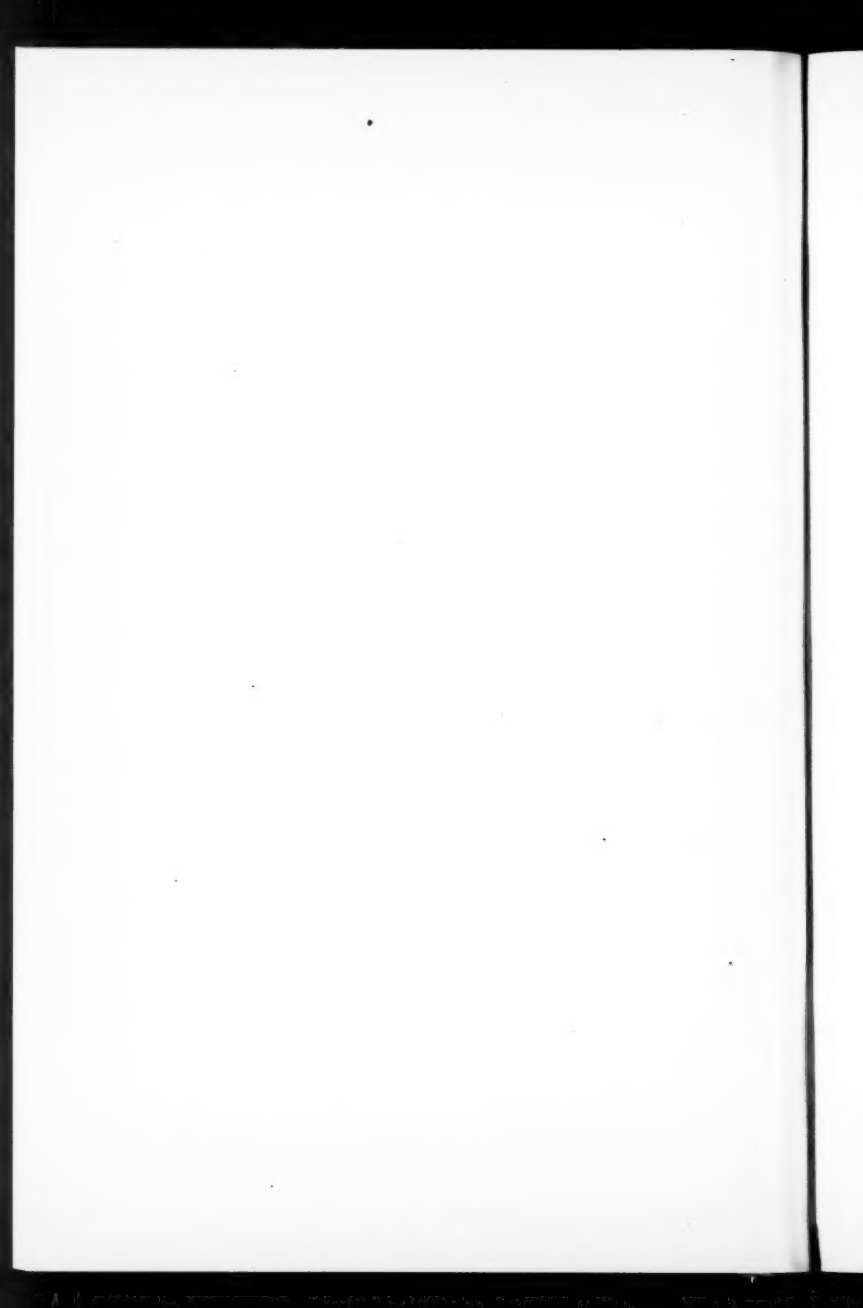
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received ecclesiastical sanction. The principle of partnership underwent an evolution which practically converted it into a loan of money in what was known as the Triple Contract. Both, however, were sometimes abused to cloak usurious bargains, and in so far as they did so, were condemned by the Church. The Triple Contract was initially a contract of partnership, attached to which were two subsidiary contracts of insurance, by which the capitalist bargained himself out of the risk of losing his capital and even his interest. He covenanted in fact to receive a smaller certain gain in preference to a larger but uncertain one. Each of these contracts was licit in itself. The whole difficulty arose when they were all made at once with the same person. It was, however, in itself no evasion of the usury prohibition, and, though provisionally forbidden by Sixtus V in 1586, it was set forth with evident approval by Benedict XIV at a later date. (*De Synodo Diac.* x, 72. Cf. Ashley, 440-447.)

—Reprinted from the Month, December, 1913.

## **The Church and the Money-Lender**





# The Church and the Money-Lender

REV. HENRY IRWIN, S.J.

## III

The Church, as we have already observed (*The Month*, December, 1913), has been accused of having recoiled reluctantly, but with the best grace she could, from the encompassed citadel of the usury prohibition behind which she began in time to find she had foolishly intrenched herself, when mercantile interests proved too strong for her any longer to defend it. That is a baseless accusation. In the earlier period business opinion was entirely on her side. "Far into the fifteenth century," says Ashley, "the feeling against usury was shared by the great body of the business community; which is sufficient evidence that the prohibition was not felt to be a hindrance to trade." (*Ashley*, p. 462.) The Church was actually more considerate to the claims of capital in the rare circumstances when they were legitimate than the civil authority. "Complaints of ecclesiastical laxity in this matter are not infrequent." (*Cunningham, Growth, etc.*, p. 361, n. 2.) The civic ordinances of London were very severe on usurers, and "the Commons petitioned in 1376 that the ordinances of the city of London be enforced against usury and that similar powers be given to the bailiffs and mayors of all cities and burghs." (*Ibid.*, n. 3.) The reason of their objection to money-lending at interest was that it practically withdrew capital from legitimate trading to employ it in

loans for unproductive consumption, which were profitable to the individual lender, but pernicious to the common weal. Of fourteenth century England it is true to say that "the demand for money for commercial or industrial purposes, at the only rates at which men were accustomed to lend, was practically nil. It is not likely that the medieval merchant was often able to make a profit on capital if he borrowed at 80 per cent., and, as a matter of fact, money was not borrowed except for emergencies—as in the well-known case of *The Merchant of Venice*. . . . Money-lending in its beginnings here had nothing to do with commerce; wealthy men borrowed in an emergency, or to equip for war; they could give ample security to the lenders, but the rate of interest they had to pay had no relation to the profits of commerce, for it was simply determined by the temporary necessity of the borrower. No wonder the Commons complained that "many men have been undone and brought to poverty by this horrible practice." (*Ibid.*, pp. 363, 364.)

Again, the civil lawyers in their teaching on commercial law all recognize the prohibition of usury as of binding force, and sometimes become more theological than the theologians themselves. (*Ashley*, p. 383.)

In dealing with usury as a matter of conscience the Church could consider the merits of individual cases with far greater elasticity than the civil power, legislating as it did for the multitude. In England especially, owing to the "religious revolution which had cut them off from the later Canonist development" (*Ashley*, p. 470), theorists were apt to make much less allowance for the legitimate claims of capital than in Southern Catholic countries, where the Church's principles were better understood. So

much is apparent even in the usury laws of Elizabeth and James I. The former allowed 10 per cent. interest in 1570; the latter 8 per cent. in 1623; but while the first declares that, though it does so, yet "all usury, being forbidden by the law of God, is sin and detestable," the second allows it subject to the proviso, "provided that no words in this law contained shall be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience." (1)

A similar inconsistency is found in the laws of Denmark after the Reformation. That of Christian III allowed 5 per cent., but hastened to add that it was improper and un-Christian to exact it, since it is usury and contrary to the law of God; and Christian IV allowed a rate of 6 per cent., though he regarded the previous rate of 5 per cent. as a juster one. (*Recès de 1558, art. 3; and 1643, 2-5-11.*)

To do these legislators justice, their apparent concession was designed rather to limit interest than to authorize it. The Catholic Church, too, had invoked Scripture to show that there is such a sin as usury, but she has never defined the Scripture to forbid all manner of interest, no matter under what circumstances. Hence, in her permission of it to-day she is not compromised by having practically to recant her previous interpretation of the Sacred Text or else to leave a contradiction standing.

Still there was much to be said for the restrictive attitude of the civil power until the Industrial Revolution of

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(1) *Statutes at Large*, London, 1763, ii. pp. 592, 593; iii. p. 102. On the long-persistent objection to interest of Puritan extremists, cf. Cunningham, *Growth, Etc., in Modern Times*, Part i. pp. 154, 155.

the eighteenth century had rendered the limitations imposed on *commercial* credit obsolete. Investments were not so numerous as to justify a universal presumption that money had as yet taken on the characteristics of capital. When the bank of Amsterdam was founded in 1609, primarily to promote exchange (*A. Smith, Wealth of Nations, iv, ch. 3. Nicholson, i, p. 392*), depositors actually paid the bank to keep their money safe. Yet the Dutch were a leading commercial nation then. Sir William Temple at the end of the same century relates how the holders of Government Stock in Holland "received it [the principal when repaid] with tears, not knowing how to dispose of it to interest with such safety and ease." (*Temple, Works, i, p. 102. qu. Roscher, Pol. Econ., Lalor, p. 188, n. 1.*) The reason why the Bank of England's capital in 1694 was so rapidly subscribed is thus accounted for:—

"In those days good investments *were after all a rarity*, and the new undertaking, backed up as it was by the guarantee of a Government that seemed honestly bent on paying its way, and supported by the best-known merchants in the city of London, appealed with success to the sentiments and pockets of capitalists, and by its happy combination of patriotism with eight per cent. gratified at once their love of country, their love of gain, and their hatred of tyranny and Popery." (*Clare, Money Market Primer, p. 3.*)

In fact, so backward were banking and joint-stock business that "in England, almost up to the close of the seventeenth century, tradesmen or merchants, retiring from business, lived literally on their savings. It is stated that the father of Pope, the poet, having amassed a fortune in trade in London, retired to the country about

the time of the Revolution, carrying with him a strong box containing nearly £20,000, out of which he took from time to time whatever was required for household expenses. It was the opinion of writers about the same time that very large sums were continually kept hidden in secret places." (1)

Pepys, in his famous *Diary*, alludes to the same practice as common in the turbulent times of the Civil Wars. (*Diary*, ii, p. 159; iv, p. 222. Ed. Braybrooke, 1848.)

J. S. Mill shared to some extent the views of Lecky.

"Sismondi," he writes, "has noticed among the causes of the industrial inferiority of the Catholic compared with the Protestant parts of Europe, that the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages gave its sanction to the same prejudice (against interest) which subsists, impaired but not destroyed, wherever that religion is acknowledged." (*Pol. Econ.*, Book V, chap. x, sec. 2.)

It is singular that one who passed for an expert in the theory of inductive fallacies should himself have acted sponsor to a statement that involves a practical instance of the familiar fallacy of *False Cause* (*non causa pro causa*). The concluding words of the above quotation have in them this element of truth that the Catholic Church denounces usury wherever she finds it. That is a very different thing from a prejudice against interest. As it so happens, she can point to an imposing array of up-to-date usury laws, passed since Mill's death, to back her up. If at any time she withstood the growth of legitimate credit, this must have been by destroying

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(1) Palgrave, *Dict. of Pol. Econ.* s.v. Hoarding, ii. 341b. On the fewness of safe investments before the nineteenth century, cf. Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, i. p. 620, n. 1; and p. 737, n. 1. (5th ed.)

banking institutions surviving from antiquity or by strangling more modern ones as they rose. By the beginning of the Middle Ages "banking" was "a lost art, where once it had flourished." (2)

The Canonist Prohibition was scarcely to blame for that. Like the lamb in the fable, it could plead that it was not yet born. The extinction of old banking institutions was due to the retrograde movement in Western civilization that followed on barbarian invasions at the end of the fourth century, to the exhaustion of the mines, the pressure of an absorbing taxation, the debasing of coinage, private hoarding, general insecurity, and to a relapse into natural economy. (*Cunningham, Western Civilization*, ii, p. 50. *U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka*, i, pp. 201, 605-681.)

If, then, the Church hampered the re-creation of banking business, this must have been when it was beginning to reappear among the medieval Italian Republics. These were the cradle of all the modern institutions of finance. Did they suffer in their progress from the ecclesiastical restrictions on money-lending? Quite the contrary. A glance at the dates of the foundation of the various great banks will serve to correct any misapprehension on that subject. That of Genoa was established in 1407, and that of Venice in 1587; while those of the Protestant sea-

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(2) Nicholson, iii. p. 132. It is possible to exaggerate the importance of ancient banking. The late Lord Avebury, himself a banker, says (*Coins and Currency*, p. 123): "We are told that all money transactions among the Romans were carried on through the intervention of bankers, and that they kept the account books of their customers. But however this may be, the system of banking does not seem to have been very thoroughly developed."

powers were much later. That of Amsterdam was founded in 1609, and the Bank of England in 1694. The Bank of Hamburg dates from 1619. Florence, Genoa, Venice, Amalfi, Siena and Modena had a most flourishing trade. Nowhere else did the practice of partnership in business, "the true way to develop sound enterprise" (*Cunningham, Growth, etc.*, p. 367), flourish as there. Loans at interest could find in such circumstances the justification that anyone who lent to another was almost certainly renouncing remunerative investment in another shape. The value of capital was clearly apprehended. St. Bernardine of Siena († 1444), could write of an article "which has not only the character of simple money or of a commodity, but also beyond that, *as it were in germ, the productive capacity which we commonly call capital.*" (1)

It is to these busy cities of Northern Italy that we owe the institution of bills of exchange in their modern form. (2) This was an untold boon to merchants at a time when money could not be telegraphed abroad. It saved the annoyance of having to change their moneys in a foreign market and the danger of transporting specie; it multiplied the currency, since international debts could now be balanced without the intervention of coin, which was thus disengaged for circulation. The terminology of exchange in continental languages is, as Endemann (*Endemann, i*, p. 117) notices, eloquent of its Italian origin. Trade could and did flourish in Catholic coun-

(1) *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Opera*. Venetiis, 1745, tom. ii, sermo 34 (*De Temporis Venditione*), c. 3, p. 197, b.

(2) Endemann, *Studien in der romanisch-kanonistischen Wirtschafts- und Rechtslehre*, i. p. 90. Nys, *Recherches sur l'Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, pp. 153-162; 214-216.

tries side by side with the usury prohibition. If some of them have lost much of their old splendor, so also have non-Catholic States, and so might any country which is overborne by political rather than economic forces. "The decline of the Italian cities," which came about, as Professor Nicholson writes, "through *political* causes, and through the discovery of America and the Cape route to India, marks the transition from the medieval to the modern period, in which Holland, and later England, gained the supremacy in finance." (*Nicholson*, iii, p. 137.) How much England lagged behind Italy in finance is seen by her late adoption of bills of exchange. (*Cf. Ibid.*, 242.)

"Bills of exchange at first were extended only to merchant strangers trafficking with English merchants, and afterwards to inland bills between merchants trafficking with one another here in England, and then to all persons trafficking, and subsequently to all persons trafficking or not."(1)

It would be difficult to show how the usury prohibition had anything whatever to say to the failure of the Italian Republics. They would have suffered exactly the same if the Church had held her peace on the subject. The change of trade routes left them, like some of the Hanse towns, "on a siding," and just as the Eastern trade of the latter was damaged by the capture of Novgorod by the Tzar Ivan in 1477, so that of the Italian towns suffered from the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (*Cambridge Modern History*, i, pp. 529, 503-510.) From the writings of Molina († 1600) it is plain that banking

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(1) Smith, *Mercantile Law*, i. p. lxxxii.; *qu.* Nicholson, iii, p. 242. On English banking origins, cf. Cunningham, *Growth, Etc.* . . . in *Modern Times*, Part I. 142-161.



throve in Spain at the end of the sixteenth century. The same is attested by Lessius († 1623) for the Spanish Netherlands at that date.<sup>(1)</sup> The failure of Spain and Portugal to profit by their colonial empire to promote trade and industry was due to a mistaken economic policy, in no way connected with any attempt to regulate the affairs of private financiers. A constant succession of exhausting wars paralyzed industry and trade to a great extent in Austria and France. In the latter country banking was a slow growth, but this was due to the monopolist privileges accorded to the Bank of France. (*W. Bagehot, Lombard Street*, pp. 5, 71, 72. *Tenth edition.*) If in these countries any hindrance was placed to the development of credit, it was the fault of the civil legislation, not of ecclesiastical interference.

Even after capital had begun to be formed on a more extensive scale, the Church's motives for maintaining the usury prohibition for the protection of the weak remained as valid as before. Agriculture continued long to be the great employment of the bulk of the population. To have given money-lenders a free hand in dealing with an ignorant peasantry too often harassed by drought, blight, pestilence, famine and war "would have meant delivering them into the hands of the spoiler." (*Ashley*, p. 438. *Nys*, *op cit.*, p. 78.)

The State is preoccupied, to judge by her action in the past, rather with the *production* of wealth; the Church is concerned far more about its *distribution*. The bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720 ruined many, but en-

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(1) Endemann, *op. cit.* i. p. 50, notices Scaccia's high opinion of Lessius as an authority on exchange. There was a bank at Barcelona as early as 1349. Cf. Say and Chailley, *Dict. de l'Econ. Pol.*, II. p. 90.

riched a few. English historians draw comfort from the fact that the blow, looked at from a national standpoint, was less severe than it seemed. Money changed hands; it did not leave the country. (*Ransome, Hist. of Eng.*, p. 746.) That is the kind of view a Chancellor of the Exchequer might be tempted to take, whose task as tax-collector is much easier and less invidious when money is concentrated in the hands of a small minority, and revenue can be raised by directly taxing them on income and inheritance. From the statesman's point of view *national wealth* is paramount; from the philanthropist's, *individual well-being*. Clearly, it is for the greater good of the greater number that capital should be spread thinner over a broader area. This was the tendency of the action of the usury prohibition. It was designed partly to protect ignorance and necessity from being exploited for the benefit of those who, in dealing with them, had the powerful lever of an economic advantage. The Angevin and French kings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries allowed the Jews to extort usurious profits from their subjects, that they might presently, as Suetonius says Vespassian did his tax-gatherers, squeeze them like sponges.(1) In England, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the peasantry required particularly watchful care. They were just in the transition

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(1) Suet. *Vesp.* 16: "Creditorum etiam procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret: quibus quidem vulgo 'pro spongiis' dicebatur 'uti,' quod quasi et siccos madefaceret, et exprimeret humentes." As Vespassian was thus the arch-extortioner, the Angevin and French kings were indirectly the arch-usurers. On this subject, cf. Depping, *Les Juifs au Moyen Age*, pp. 137; 142; 172-3; 227. Also J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 332-333, with references.

from serfdom to independent ownership. After the Black Death, amid the scarcity of labor, the landlords could have virtually reduced them back to their old condition of dependence, if they could have made them usury-slaves, as landlords and Jews have made the peasantry in Italy and elsewhere in modern times. (*W. N. Beauclerk, Rural Italy*, pp. 53, 62.) If that had been allowed, "the yeomanry of England" which "formed henceforth for several centuries an important factor in national life" (*Gibbins, Industry in England*, p. 153), would have forfeited all the advantages of the emancipation which they were so lucky as to secure centuries before the serfs of continental countries. (*Nicholson*, i, pp. 303-304, 311-312. *C. Jannet, Le Capital, la Spéculation et la Finance*, p. 80.) Even now, where medieval conditions practically obtain, as in the Deccan (*Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1877, pp. 184-186, *Pedder*), in rural Russia (*Revue des Economistes*, Nov., 1893, p. 236, *et seq.* *Inostranslets*), and in Austria (*J. Platter, Der Wucher in der Bukowina*, p. 46), the usurer is "the curse of the village." "In the nineteenth century," says Professor Nicholson, "the peasants of Germany and Russia, in the course of progress, have in many cases exchanged the serfdom of the lord for the bondage of the Jew—the whip for the scorpion." (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 134.)

When Mr. Wyndham's Irish Land-Purchase Bill was passed, Lord MacDonnell warned the Irish peasant-proprietors against the danger of usury, quoting the impressive testimony of Baron Sonnino, afterwards Premier of Italy, to its ravages among the peasantry there. (*The Times*, Feb. 5, 1903.) Indeed, it is a significant fact that the appearance of the Jew as petty-trader and money-lender in Ireland coincided exactly

with the change in the law, which gave Irish tenants a salable interest in their holdings. (*Lyceum*, July, 1913.)

It is to protect the weak, the stupid, and the improvident against crafty and pitiless money-lenders that many of the chief States of Europe, including England, have returned to usury laws. Public opinion was shocked to see extortioners using the law as an engine of oppression. Bentham did excellent work in advocating the abolition of such laws as imposed a fixed rate of interest on commercial lending; but like a practised rhetorician, he over-emphasized his case. Unfortunately, he was taken literally. Where he should have called for reform, he clamored for repeal. The usury laws of England were abolished in 1854, and her example was followed by other States of Europe. Then began the golden age of usury. Legislators soon had reason to be horrified at their own handiwork. Since 1880, one after the other, the civil governments have been re-enacting usury laws, defining the misdemeanor in terms that curiously recall the principles of the medieval canonists. The *laissez faire* principle that any rate of interest is just or at least expedient, even when the parties to the loan bargain on absurdly unequal terms, has been officially abandoned. The principle of an objective standard of justice once more finds expression in the laws. Judges are given wide discretionary powers to go behind the bond and rescind "hard and unconscionable bargains." It would be an interesting speculation to inquire on what principles they would describe a usurer's charges as exorbitant. A judge of the High Court asked to give an analysis of the grounds by which he measured the proportion or disproportion of usurious interest would doubtless assign as the basis of his decision just such criteria as the canonists

formulated, namely, the lender's risk, trouble, loss, sacrifice of alternative profit, or his right to penalty for default. As a specimen of the legal definitions of usury now adopted on the Continent, sections 302 (a) and (d) of the German civil code, embodying the law of 1880, as amended in 1893, may be quoted:

"Whoever taking undue advantage of the distress, simplicity, or inexperience of another, makes to that other a money loan, or consents to prolong the period of a money loan [or makes any other contract having a similar business object (*i. e.*, credit)], and in virtue of such a loan or contract obtains or agrees to obtain material advantages, which, considering the circumstances of the case are extraordinarily disproportionate to the service rendered, shall be punished as a usurer with imprisonment which may extend to three months, and also with a fine not exceeding £150. The court may also sentence the accused to the loss of civil rights. . . . Whoever shall practise usury . . . habitually or as a business, shall be punished. . . ." (1)

The number of modern usury laws unfortunately proves how untrue it is to say with Jannet that "usury has almost completely disappeared amongst civilized nations, or at least is only to be found on the confines of civilization, either where it is backward or in an incipient stage." (*Cl. Jannet, Le Capital, la Spéculation et la Finance au XIXe siècle*, p. 535.) It is, as Leo XIII has said (*Encycl. Rerum Novarum. Cf. Cathrein-Gettelman, Socialism*, p. 370), a very real and widespread

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(1) C. Isopescul-Grecul, *Das Wucherstrafrecht*, i, 215-217, n. 1, where the "ethical" definitions of other codes are quoted. J. Mallet, *Du Prêt à Intérêt*, ch. vi, pp. 213-261.

evil. It was against just this evil that the Catholic Church sought and still seeks to protect society, and, as we have seen in this article, her attitude receives the homage of the best economic opinion in this country and of the most enlightened legislation of the day.

—*Reprinted from the Month, January, 1914.*

# Canon Sheehan

A MEMORY AND AN APPRECIATION.

REV. JOHN J. HORGAN, S.J.

I remember very well the last occasion on which I visited him at Doneraile. It was a glorious spring day. High overhead floated soft, white, fleecy clouds in a sky of vivid blue. As we drove along the high road from Mallow, suddenly, at a turn in the way, the beautiful panorama of wood and valley and mountain burst into view. There was Doneraile far below, as he himself once described it, "nestling in a deep well, sheltered by the impenetrable umbrage of woods and forests"; away behind it lay the brown and green solitudes of the Ballyhoura Hills, and to the left the towering Galtees still topped with their winter night-caps of snow. Across the hills the cloud shadows chased each other in the sun; below us in the fields a busy farmer guided his plough over the fresh green turf. All was peaceful, quiet, remote from the roar of the railway and the traffic of the town. And then we came down into the valley along the winding road well shaded with interlacing trees, past the comfortable laborers' cottages, where his name was a household word, down the long village street, and there at the end was the Mecca of our pilgrimage—the little two-storied, unpretentious house where Canon Sheehan lived. A few yards away Spenser's "gentle Mulla" flowed on its even way through reeds and shallows. Across the road were the trees of Lord Castletown's beautiful demesne. All around was the quiet leisured flow of life in this prosperous little Irish village. There were the surroundings amidst which all his great work was done, not only the work which made his name famous throughout the world,

but that other work which he placed first, his work as priest and guardian of his people.

I had come for the week-end, one of many that I had the honor and privilege of spending under his roof. There was, as always, the kindly, hospitable welcome, the inquiries after many common friends, the discussion of events in the great world which here seemed so remote. In the afternoon we went for a drive to visit the historic Kilcolman, where Spenser lived and wrote the *Faerie Queene*. It is an old gray frontier castle, perched above a brown bog. From the summit, on a clear day, you can see five counties. The Galtees seem to frown over your head and the lordly Shannon is a gleam of glory on the horizon. We talked there amongst the ruins of many things: of how it was there Spenser welcomed Raleigh, newly home from his voyage round the world, bringing with him those two commonplace necessities of modern life, potatoes and tobacco; of how there, too, he wrote his magnificent *Epithalamium* in loyal fealty to his Irish wife, and how there, finally, as a reward for his ruthless policy, the "wild Irishe," as he called them, burnt his castle to the ground.

Back at Doneraile again, we spent the afternoon in the garden he loved so well. The long, narrow garden, a *hortus conclusus, et disseptus*, with its high trees and shrubs, the garden with which readers of his books are so familiar, and which he greatly loved. Here he showed me the crocuses bursting up joyously from their winter sleep, and we paced up and down the narrow, sheltered path where much of his work was thought out. There, too, was the little wooden summer house where, in summer, he often wrote. Before his last illness fell upon him he often worked in the garden himself, directing or helping the gardener. It was his place of peace and meditation—secure from all interruption or observa-



tion; it was there he spent the happiest hours of his life. And when the evening came we strolled out along the country roads in the dusk and talked of books and men. He was at his best then. He never shone in a crowd. His natural shyness and modesty, which he so often admitted and deplored, seemed in a crowded company to dry up that delightful easy flow of genial, speculative conversation to which those who knew him intimately loved to listen. But with a friend on a country walk or by his own fireside few men were more interesting or more entertaining: interesting not only because he talked well of himself, but because, like all good talkers, he drew from his companion the best he could give to the common discussion. Americans and others anxious to meet the famous author often traveled to Doneraile to see him, but I fear many went away without ever meeting the real Canon Sheehan that his friends knew so well.

His house spoke of the man. Books everywhere: on the drawing-room table, in broad, compact book-cases around the dining-room, in marshaled ranks lining the little study upstairs, where he read and wrote. And all methodically neat. As he wrote somewhere himself, he was a precisian, and this neatness and order were reflected in his writings and in his life. But in that house there was no luxury, no ostentation, no display.

The following day was Sunday, and I had the privilege of attending his Mass and listening to his simple, beautiful little sermon in the fine old parish church, which he had done so much to beautify and repair. In the afternoon we went up together to the splendid field beyond the river where, every Sunday, the young Gaelic athletes of the surrounding parishes contended for supremacy. There was a hurling match in progress, a fine exciting match well played. It was delightful to see him there amongst his people, quiet and unpretentious, the gentle

parish priest beloved by all, sharing the pleasures and sports of the crowd with all the enthusiasm and interest of a boy. Those who wish to read of one of the best descriptions ever written of a hurling match should turn to the first chapter in his novel *Glenanaar*, and they will find there a description of such a scene as we saw the that afternoon. And in *Parerga* also there is another description of a similar scene. Young Irish manhood playing splendidly a great old Irish game—probably one of the finest and most exciting games in the world. He was so proud of his young men, of their skill, their self-control, their good temper. And he would point out to you the change from the old days when many a hurling match ended in a riot or a faction fight. But, indeed, it was not a mere matter of parochial interest with him. He was keenly interested in the Irish language and in Irish games, and he seldom missed an important match or a local *feis*. I remember him saying to me once what far greater work the Irish would have done for the faith in America if they had gone there like the Germans, with the bond of a national language and a fully-developed national life to consolidate them against outside and evil influences. Sometimes of recent years I found him pessimistic as to the future of the language—the dark waves of Anglicisation seemed to be submerging everything, and he could see but little light ahead—but he never doubted the essential truths and principles of self-reliance and national cohesion upon which the language movement is based. I shall always like to think of him as I remember him that Sunday, a genial smile lighting up his keen intellectual face as he pointed out to me the celebrated players and the points of the game; one likes to remember a dear friend at his best, and he was at his best then.

And now I turn from this happy memory to write some-

thing, feeble and unworthy though it be, about his life. Patrick Augustine Sheehan was born in New Street, Mallow, on March 17, 1852. It was probably the day of his birth that determined his baptismal name; while his own choice, at a later epoch, fell on the glorious son of St. Monica, whose praises he was afterwards to sound with fervent eloquence. He grew up a reserved, solitary boy. My uncle, who was then curate at Mallow, often told me of how he gave Canon Sheehan his first musical lessons in the church choir. Readers of "My New Curate" will remember the village choir over which Father Letheby presided, and how he "brought clear to the front the sweet trebles of the schoolboys on whom he said all his hopes depended." It was a picture of his own schoolboy triumphs in the Mallow choir.

Very early he showed a singular aptitude for mathematics, and his last two years at the Mallow National School were devoted exclusively to geometry and algebra. His classical education was not begun until 1866, when he entered St. Colman's College, Fermoy. In 1868 he took fourth place in the concursus, and was anxious to go to Rome for his ecclesiastical studies. He was dissuaded, however, and returned to the diocesan seminary. He never lost his affection for St. Colman's, and in after years he devoted a considerable part of the profits from his books to renovating the College chapel and also to its general advancement. Gaining the first place at the next concursus he went to Maynooth in September, entering for the class of logic. Strange to say, he escaped distinction during his Maynooth course so completely that, after he became famous, many who were almost his contemporaries at college have been slow to believe that he was ever a student of Maynooth.

The explanation is, chiefly, that he was in very delicate health during the whole of his Maynooth career, from

1869 to 1874. All his family died at an early age, except a younger brother, who survives him and who holds a high position under the Local Government Board. So unsatisfactory was his health at this period that he was obliged to interrupt his theological studies in the academic year 1872-1873, remaining at home to rest for those twelve months. Meanwhile, however, he was not losing his time or letting his mind lie fallow. He was an omnivorous but desultory reader in the sectional libraries of the College. Carlyle and Tennyson were his teachers during this period. From the former he learned the gospel of work, which had a marked influence on all his after life. He was fascinated by Tennyson's dreaminess, mysticism, and music, and learned by heart a great many of his poems. You will find apt quotations from Tennyson in nearly all his books and in most of his addresses. Later on he was repelled by Carlyle's hatred of the Church and by his unchristian doctrine of brute force; and Tennyson he exchanged for the more robust thought of Dante and Browning. Such reading was not without its influence on his professional work. Father Tom Burke once said that he read poetry every day in order to gain as much vividness and sweetness as he could for his language in the pulpit.

Canon Sheehan received the Holy Order of Priesthood at the earliest legal age. He was ordained in the Cathedral of Cork, on the Feast of St. Joseph's Patronage, 1875, which is kept on the third Sunday after Easter, and was therefore, in that year, the 18th of April. The diocese of Cloyne being at that time sufficiently supplied with priests, he was lent to a less fortunate English diocese. The Bishop of Plymouth placed him on the staff of his cathedral, and in Plymouth he preached his first sermon on the first Sunday of May, the subject being the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. One

of his earliest sermons was on the Sanctity of the Church, and a remarkable circumstance is connected with it. A very famous clergyman of the Established Church, the Rev. Robert Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow in Cornwall, broke down in health that year, gave up his vicarage, and came to his native town, Plymouth. On the evening that the young Irish priest preached on the Sanctity of the Church, the retired Vicar sat under the pulpit with his wife and three daughters. This fact was brought out strongly in the local newspaper by angry Protestants, when Mr. Hawker's conversion was announced a few days later. But the convert was beyond the reach of abuse, for he had been received into the Church upon his death-bed. This was Canon Sheehan's last sermon at Plymouth, as he was soon afterwards moved to Exeter, where the remainder of his time in England was spent. Here he officiated for two years under the saintly Canon Hobson, for whom he ever afterwards retained the most grateful and affectionate regard. During these years, amid all the occupations and distractions of active life, Canon Sheehan read and studied far more theology than during all the years of college life set apart exclusively for such studies. In the midst of heretical surroundings and addressing, Sunday after Sunday, congregations largely composed of actual or probable converts, his profound sense of responsibility towards the souls with whom he came in contact urged him to exert his powers to the utmost, and he felt himself obliged to master every subject of controversy that might help souls on to the light. It was an experience gained during this period of his life that he afterwards drew on largely for some of the most interesting chapters in *The Triumph of Failure*, *Luke Delmege*, and others of his books. He was probably more reluctant to be taken from such congenial and fruitful

work when the Bishop of Cloyne called him back to Ireland than he had been to leave home originally and go into exile.

Of the thirty-eight years that have elapsed since he returned to Ireland, the first four were spent in his native parish of Mallow. One of the first works he undertook in this new sphere of action was the formation of a Young Men's Society. This interest in the work of the young Catholic laity was one of his leading characteristics, as all who have read his works are aware. An inaugural lecture which he delivered to this Society in 1880 was one of his earliest publications. In 1881 he was transferred to Queenstown, where he labored for eight years. Here it was that his literary career fairly began with a simple little story called "Topsy," written for a children's magazine. Some other short stories of this period have been reprinted by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland amongst their penny publications. His first long story, however, *Geoffrey Austin, Student*, was not attempted till his second curacy in the place of his birth; for in 1889 he returned from Queenstown to Mallow. He had previously contributed many articles to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*; and an essay of his in the *Irish Monthly*, on "The Two Civilisations," excited the warm admiration of Judge O'Hagan. The friendship which was thus early formed between him and Father Matthew Russell continued to the end, and many of his most beautiful poems and short articles first saw the light in the *Irish Monthly*. The first work of his I ever read was a poem on the sea which appeared in its pages. Before he left Queenstown, however, his health completely broke down from overwork. Besides ordinary exercises of voice and pen, he was, on special occasions, pressed into the pulpits of Cork and Limerick, and too often found it impossible to escape. He fell into such a state

of nervous prostration that he had to be relieved from all duty for a year (1888), which he spent at Glengarriff and Youghal. Like the similar interruption of his Maynooth life, this year was by no means intellectually blank. At any rate it gave him leisure for a most interesting correspondence with Dr. James Field Spalding, of Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and no doubt he had a share in leading that fine mind into the Church. But this year of rest gave him ample opportunity for thought and meditation on life, literature, and religion. It would be hard in Ireland, or indeed in Europe, to match the beauties of Glengarriff's wooded hills and blue mountains shrouded in the soft mists which sweep in from the Atlantic, and where, as Sir Aubrey de Vere beautifully describes it,

From rock and headland proud  
The wild wood spreads its arms around the bay.  
The manifold mountain comes, now dark, now bright,  
Now seen, now lost, alternate from rich light  
To spectral shade; and each dissolving cloud  
Reveals new mountains while it floats away.

It was amidst scenes such as these that Canon Sheehan loved to wander and commune alone with Nature. His old friend, Dean Keller of Youghal, tells how in those days Canon Sheehan would sometimes be absent for hours, and when the Dean went to look for him he would find him standing like one in a trance looking out upon the wild waste of the winter sea.

In 1895 he was appointed parish priest of Doneraile. Here the aid of two curates left him sufficient leisure to achieve the literary work which has laid Catholic readers in every country in the world under a heavy debt of gratitude. *Geoffrey Austin* was followed by *The Triumph of Failure* (1899), in which some of the same characters appear and which was his favorite work. He

used to tell an amusing anecdote about this book. Making some purchases one day in a Dublin bookshop he asked the boy who was serving him if he could recommend him some light Catholic literature. The lad mentioned *Goeffrey Austin*, and on Canon Sheehan informing him that he had read it, added: "There's *The Triumph of Failure*, sir, by the same author, and between you and me, it is a failure." The feelings of the boy can be better imagined than described when the manager appeared on the scene and addressed Canon Sheehan by name. But if *The Triumph of Failure* did not meet with the success it deserved, his next book, *My New Curate* (1900), raised Canon Sheehan to a position in the world of letters which was unique. It appeared first in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and had an enormous sale in America before it was appreciated in Ireland. In it he revealed himself as a master of a singularly pure, lucid and cultured English type, and as one of the little band of great writers who have truly and sympathetically portrayed Irish life.

Then followed from his pen a series of novels, essays and poems which enhanced and increased his fame. Of these the most interesting, to my mind, are *Luke Delmege*, *Glenanaar*, *The Blindness of Dr. Gray*, and the two delightful books of essays, *Under the Cedars and the Stars*, and *Parerga*, which are perhaps the best literary work he ever did. Of his novels I like *Glenanaar* much the best, and consider that the dramatic description of O'Connell's defence of the Doneraile Conspirators was one of the finest things he ever wrote. I came across the other day, in a friend's library, an old book of recollections, written by a Cork Catholic journalist of those days, in which, describing this famous trial, occur these memorable words: "Before he came into Court we (Catholics) were a small despised body, afraid to raise



our heads, but when the great Dan entered we felt like a multitude, and we had the courage of a multitude." It is this feeling which Canon Sheehan gives us in his description of the trial. O'Connell dominates the scene from his first angry interruption of the surprised Solicitor-General with the words, "That is not law," until the final collapse of the Crown case under his determined attack. It was one of O'Connell's greatest triumphs.

I often urged him privately, and once publicly in a review of one of his books, to write another Irish historical novel, but he had to remember his American readers, and he wrote me then: "I have been away from home this past week, and had not the opportunity of sending sooner my recognition of your fine review in the *Examiner*. Strange to say, the cry across the Atlantic is for more 'clericalism'; our National history does not appear to appeal so strongly to readers there." In 1906 I succeeded in persuading him to deliver a lecture to the Cork Literary and Scientific Society. "There is just a possibility," he wrote with characteristic modesty, "that in an emergency I might be able to put together something, but I have an idea that my public appearances are nearly at an end. I never cared much for public speaking, and as the years go by I am more and more inclined to keep at my desk." However, he came in the end, and gave us a delightful lecture on "The Literary Life" (October 18, 1906).

Few people are prophets in their own country. Canon Sheehan was that night. When his work became known in Rome, Propaganda recommended him to the Pope for the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, which was immediately conferred upon him. But now, when he was at the height of his fame, came the first warning of the illness which was to be fatal. He told no one, not even his brother, but obtained the best advice, and find-

ing that it was at best only a matter of a few short years, he set himself quietly and cheerfully to complete his work. Last year when I wrote to congratulate him on his birthday, he wrote back: "Ever so many thanks for your kind wishes, just received. I close my sixtieth year to-night; not a bad record for one who was often told he would never comb his hair grey. Are you writing a book? I have no respect for ephemeral literature, and I often see *Great Catholic Laymen* alluded to in foreign papers, especially Australian, as a leading Catholic work." This last reference was to my book, for which he had kindly written a Preface in 1905, and in the publication of which he took a great interest. But the condition of his health became rapidly worse, and, finally, in the early part of this year he had to be removed to the South Infirmity, Cork, for special care and nursing. Sad as it was to find him ill and suffering, it was a great consolation to be able to see him so near and so often. Every week I called on him, generally on Saturday afternoons when my work was done, and brought him books from my heterogeneous library, for his intellect was as keen as ever, and reading did not tire him. Some days he was quite bright and like his old self, and we spent many pleasant hours talking over the books I had brought. He was very interested in Bernard Shaw's plays, and he was particularly delighted with a book of Montgomery Carmichael's, *The Life of John William Walshe*, a delightful novel disguised in the form of an autobiography, which he had not read before.

He had a most open mind. All literature was interesting to him, and he read very quickly. Every week I took up a fresh supply of books, and I know that his brother brought others, but he read them all without an effort. After a time the careful nursing and skilful medical treatment began to tell; and soon he was allowed down

into the garden, and the good nuns lent him a quiet little room near the chapel where he could sit and read undisturbed. Through it all he never complained. He knew that his illness was hopeless and his cure impossible, but he wanted to get back once more to Doneraile, to die in harness amongst his own people. And in the early spring his brother took him back to the little village amidst the trees and to the garden that he loved. For some time we had good news of him, everything seemed to be going well, and he returned by degrees to the daily round of duty. But it was not for long. The heavy hand of illness descended on him again, and he had to give up everything. His brother was with him. He saw many of his old friends up to a few days before the end. Then the final weakness came upon him, and he could see no one. He could not even read, he who had so much loved books. Quietly and patiently he waited for the end, reciting fervently and frequently the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, to whom his devotion was great. He had written a beautiful book in her praise, *Mariae Corona*. And at last, on Rosary Sunday, he passed quietly away. Catholic Ireland had lost one of its greatest sons.

We are too near him yet to be able to estimate the place he will eventually take amongst the writers of our time. His works have been translated into all the leading European languages. Great masters of literature have spoken of them in terms of well-deserved praise. But I do not think that all this ever gave him more than a moment's passing pleasure. To him his priesthood was before and above everything else. He won the love and reverence of all his people, rich and poor, old and young, ignorant and educated. And he was always working and striving for them. I remember one case that came under my own knowledge where his effectual intercession helped a parishioner out of a serious difficulty. And what a

judge of character he was. He said little, he was too charitable for that; but he just indicated his thought and always he was correct. I remember so many instances of this: two in particular where I had formed a high opinion of certain people and told him of it, and then he smiled quietly at my youthful enthusiasm and just intimated that he did not agree; since then I have found out how right he was. He disliked all humbugs and charlatans, and measured their worth without saying a hurtful word. I do not think anyone ever saw him in a temper or heard him say a bitter thing. A few days before he died, he was looking through some old papers and manuscripts with his brother, and they came to a big pile of memoirs and recollections which he had written from time to time. "Ah!" he said, "we shall burn these, they might hurt some people's feelings if they were ever published." His friends will regret this decision (which, unfortunately, he carried out), whilst they respect the fine charity of the man.

He has left behind, it is true, a finished novel, *The Graves of Kilmorna*, which deals with the rising of '67, and some other manuscripts which will, no doubt, be published in due course. Like all his works, it is committed to paper fully and perfectly, not in an illegible scrawl like Carlyle's, or with "walking-sticks gone mad" (as Tennyson described Dr. W. G. Ward's), but with characters deft, uniform, neat, and even elegant, while at the same time simple and unaffected. If my readers believe, as I do, that handwriting often betrays personal characteristics, they will appreciate the significance of the epithets I have applied to Canon Sheehan's caligraphy.

He never let his literary work impair his pastoral efficiency. He used to rise early and say Mass at Our Lady's altar in his parish church. When not otherwise bound he always applied it, through her hands, to the

soul in Purgatory that was next to be released; for he held that devotion to the Holy Souls is the perfection of charity, just as devotion to Our Blessed Lady is the secret of all civilization in its reverence for womanhood, and as the ineffable mystery of the Eucharist is the solution of all the mysteries of life. After breakfast he used to visit the schools or some of his parishioners, and in these quiet walks he composed much of what he afterwards wrote down. But his favorite place for composition was, as I have already said, his garden. Flowers and little children were his chief delights. He seldom left Doneraile; and a few weeks at the sea—sometimes at Ballycotton, sometimes at Kilkee—were the only holidays he ever took. The sea was ever present to him; he loved to meditate by its brink.

"There could be no solitude here," he wrote, "for voices were ever calling, calling to you; and you had to shade your eyes from the glare of the sunlit foam, that not only dazzled and blinded at your feet, but floated up in a kind of sea-dust that filled all the air with sunmists, and was shot through and through with rainbows that melted and appeared again, and vanished as the sunlight fell, or the wind caught the smoke of the breakers and flung it back against the steel blue, darkened sea without. Far up along the coast you could see the same glorious phenomenon—a fringe of golden foam breaking helplessly against iron barriers; and here and there where a great rock stood alone and motionless, cut loose from the mainland by centuries of attrition, you might behold cataract after cataract of molten gold pouring out and over it, covering it for a moment in a glittering sheet of waters and then diminishing into threads of silver as the spent waves divided into tiny streamlets and fell. It was again the eternal war of Nature, the aggressive sea, flinging its tremendous tonnage of waters on the land;

and the patient rocks, washed and beaten and tortured for ever turning their faces to the sea."

You understand now how he loved the sea.

I came again to Doneraile on the day of his funeral: All the countryside had come to do him homage. A nation mourned by his grave. Lords and Members of Parliament, farmers and laborers, professional men and artisans, all were at one in their sorrow and in their loss. But it was in the little house by the river that one missed him most. The gentle presence, the quiet voice, the kindly smile, all gone. And yet not altogether gone; for his example lives—the example of pain borne without complaint, of duty nobly done, of a great work for Ireland and high purpose persevered in to the end. The procession passed through the little village street, through the convent grounds where he so often went to encourage and help the good nuns in their work, and finally they laid him to rest beside his church. There his body lies, but his brave soul has gone from us: he has passed to his reward.

In the garden of death, where the singers whose names are  
deathless,

One with another make music unheard of men.

—*The Irish Monthly*, January, 1914.

## Liberty of Conscience

IS IT A FACT OR A FICTION IN THE UNITED STATES?

BY RT. REV. JOHN E. GUNN, D.D., BISHOP OF NATCHEZ.

*(Sermon delivered at St. Joseph's Church, New Orleans, La., on January 18, 1914, to the members of the Holy Name Society.)*

Gentlemen, I appreciate the honor conferred upon me of addressing a section of the Holy Name Society of New Orleans. I saw the magnificent parade of the young men of the Crescent City. I noticed the patriotic spirit which made every man a bearer of the flag of his country, as well as the flag of his faith. I salute the Church that has such men among her members, and I congratulate the State that has such patriotic citizens. When I was invited to address you, I thought that I would be expected to preach a sermon, but since this is not strictly a church service, I take the liberty of making this a talk rather than a discourse. An incident which occurred in my own State of Mississippi suggests the remarks I am going to make. You are familiar with it, as it has attained considerable notoriety. We have among the many educational State schools in our magnificent commonwealth, one which has the love, confidence and respect of every Mississippian; it has a splendid faculty of able teachers, appointed on account of their integrity, ability and efficiency. Its president is worthy of his position; he is a man of tried and sterling character, and he has proved by deeds that he is worthy

of the distinguished honor of heading such a faculty and such an Institution. Its student-body is made up of about eight hundred of the finest, purest, sweetest girls in the South. Never in the history of the Institution has there been a breath or whisper of scandal, because there never was a shadow of excuse. Pardon me, but some of you may think I am speaking of a Catholic Academy, or that among the professors, patrons or pupils there may be some of our faith. There is not, to my knowledge, a single Catholic among the eight hundred, and if there were, in this connection at least, I would not regret it. And there is not an individual interested in it personally known to me. Now, what happened? An anonymous scoundrel writes and spreads the most loathsome and vilifying attack on the integrity of the faculty, and on the virtue, purity and honor of eight hundred girls of Mississippi. The cowardly act of this base miscreant has not, I need not tell you, hurt the Institution, but it has aroused a protest of indignation, from the Governor of the State down to its humblest citizen; each one is suffering from a personal insult, and all clamor for the discovery of the wretch who can find pleasure in defaming virtue, or who makes profit in the business of vilification.

Why do I, at a Holy Name meeting, speak to you of a Mississippi incident? Because of another incident, a religious incident, a vilification incident which stopped a Holy Name parade in Pittsburg last August. The Pittsburg incident is known as one case of successful vilification. It is humiliating to think that in a land of religious liberty the business of vilifying any man's private or religious life should be allowed to exist, but when that un-American business succeeds, no matter how little, it is surely time to ask how long the principle of liberty of



conscience will survive when its spirit is dead, its sap is gone, its application ignored. You remember what happened last August to provoke the famous letter of the bishop of half a million Catholics in Pittsburg. Let me read you part of good Bishop Canevin's manly letter to the Holy Name Societies of the Diocese of Pittsburg:

"It is well known," he writes, "that the American people are now passing through one of those trying periods of prejudice and intolerance that rise and spread over this country every ten or fifteen years, like an epidemic of anti-Catholic frenzy. That bigotry so unfounded, so unjustifiable, so virulent and so disgraceful can be called forth periodically in the United States and succeed in blinding the judgment of intelligent men, destroying all the feelings of good will and brotherly love in their hearts, is the strangest as it is the most shameful fact in American history. The large majority of the American people who are separated from us in belief are honorable, trustworthy, fair-minded and just; they would not do their neighbor a wrong, even in thought, but there does exist in our midst a malicious and treacherous faction of fanatics and unprincipled demagogues, who are seeking to wage religious and political war against their Catholic fellow-citizens by methods wholly un-American, and destructive of the principles and traditions of our free institutions. In these days of excited bigotry, when the entire Catholic Church is condemned and execrated for the crimes and scandals of a few degenerate members, there is a market and a demand for stories no matter how absurd and calumnies, no matter how gross, against Catholics; when political interests and ambitions are to be served by appeals to bigotry, considerations of charity, of

truth, of justice, of peace do not restrain malignancy of distempered, zealous and anti-Catholic politicians in their efforts to incite intolerance, injure others in their civil and religious life, and destroy that confidence which fellow-citizens ought to cherish towards one another."

For these reasons the good bishop had to call off the Holy Name parade, and the business of vilification scored a triumph. No wonder a Pennsylvania paper suggested that Pittsburg should change its slogan from "Pittsburg Promotes Progress" to "Pittsburg Promotes Persecution of Catholics." It is a regrettable fact, but still a fact, that waves of religious intolerance like Mississippi floods pay unwelcome visits to our land of liberty of conscience; they are as varied as Jacob's coat. I shall refer only to those that assume some prominence. I have noticed, however, one remarkable phenomenon about them all: that they only come into existence when the country is at peace and free from yellow fever. The entire religious history of the colonies may be summed up in a strife of creed against creed. In New England especially, the Pope, the Devil and the Irish, were held in equal abhorrence. This lasted until the War of the Revolution began. Then the guardians of liberty sneaked out of sight and let half the Continental Army be recruited from Irish lads; Catholic France and noble Poland were not looked upon as emissaries of Rome when they helped to drive the Red Coats and the Union Jack out of the country forever. I wonder what Andrew Jackson would have thought or said, when in your own New Orleans Cathedral he thanked God for his victory, and the Ursuline ladies for their prayers, if he could have looked out on the coming century and have seen the men he helped to nationality and freedom, that there

would be found among them some so craven and so mean as to make it their business to vilify the very religion which gave him his bravest fighters and the noble Sisters to whose pure prayers he ascribed his victory.

Before American independence there was no religious liberty, but with peace and independence were born the twin principles of that civil and religious liberty on which this government rests. The experiment of religious liberty was novel. It was accepted joyfully by the fair-minded and honorable, but it was not long until the New England bigots and their agents tried to work anti-Catholics restrictions into nearly every one of the original Colonies. You know how long discrimination was practised against Catholics in the various State laws. The methods of bigots are always the same, false charges, forged documents, forged oaths, and loud professions that they alone are the guardians and protectors of liberty. The war with Mexico broke out, and the self-constituted guardians, like the wary ground hog, crept back into their holes and let the Catholic boys do their share of the fighting, as they did with their wonted loyalty and valor, until Old Glory waved over conquered Mexico. With peace, out came the swaggering guardians again, and the infamous Know-Nothingism from 1851 to 1858, is their handiwork. Its program—and please remember our American principles guarantee equal rights for all, privileges for none, freedom of conscience for all, and religion no bar to civic advancement—its program was to resist the insidious policy of the Church of Rome; to place in all offices of trust or profit in the gift of the people, or by appointment, none but native American Protestant citizens. The invincible-in-peace and invisible-in-war bigots scored a wonderful triumph for seven

years, and their lineal descendants point with a family pride to the intense sectarian feeling created; to the fact that they bought a rope to hang the Papal Nuncio; that they tarred and feathered and made insane from torture several priests; that they created a day which everyone in Louisville knows as "Bloody Monday"; and that they scared Sisters, burned convents and so forced their bigotry on the country that bills were presented to the various legislatures depriving Catholics of everything that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is supposed to stand for. Convents were to be classed as dives and subject to police inspection.

Then came the Civil War, and, as usual, the bigots and anti-Catholic vilifiers dropped their agitation and let the Stars and Stripes fight it out with the Stars and Bars without interference, which might mean the inconvenience of smelling gun-powder. The invincible-in-peace and the invisible-in-war played possum when the boys in blue and in gray lived and fought and died to defend a principle of the American Constitution. As bigots only live to destroy principles, they were well out of place during the war. After this fierce struggle our broken, mangled country was given time to readjust changed conditions, and a temporary respite from bigotry was given to Catholics. The men who fought and lived respected those who fought and died, and all respected one another. The country was becoming solidly welded together. The old soldiers at their reunion never thought of putting Beauregard, Sheridan, Rosecrantz, Newton or Shields on the traitor's or coward's list because they were Catholics. Go to the homes of the old veterans of North or South and ask them what they think of the Catholic Sisters who nursed them in camp, in battlefield and in

hospital during those fearful years of carnage. Let a distinguished Methodist minister of Cincinnati give expression to the thoughts of these old soldiers:

"The Sister in her robes of office has ever commanded the respect and admiration of Jew and Gentile, Pagan and Christian, Catholic and Protestant. There has never been a battlefield too red with blood to keep away her ministering hand of love, there has never been a contagion sufficiently destructive to blanch her cheek with fear. She loves her Church and believes in it, but the touch of her gentle hand and the smile of her Christ-like, illuminated face has been for suffering humanity of all creed and colors."

The next needful protection the country had was in 1887, and again the "protectors" assumed charge. They carefully scanned the political horizon, and seeing no war in sight an oracle from Ohio announced that the country was in danger. He called round him his men, "loyal and true," to renew the business of vilification. The followers of the new movement were to be ignorant of history, creosoted in bigotry, and hostile to the American principle of liberty of conscience. They were all needed to defeat a newly discovered Catholic conspiracy, viz.: a conspiracy to destroy the common schools, to destroy civil liberty, and to destroy religious liberty. They "protected" the country by the usual method of flooding it with anti-Catholic literature, intimidating women and children, and doing everything to create distrust and disunion. Where there was civic peace they made war; where there was harmony they created discord; where there was confidence they created distrust; they adopted the Voltarian principle of "Lie, lie always, some of it will be believed." The splendid program failed be-

cause the history of the war was fresher in the minds of the American people than the stories of the Inquisition and the horrors and tortures inflicted upon some walled-up nun in the Middle Ages. The "protectors" of America failed to make any impression on the country. This failure was hastened by the war with Spain; the very talk of war drives these "protectors" and guardians of bigotry back to their holes. Yes, they are driven out of sight, but the slime of the serpent has stained the pages of American history, and the disgraceful chapters of intolerance, intimidation, bigotry and persecution have added to the work of the American apologist of to-day, and the work of those who in years to come will have to try to harmonize the theory and practice of American principles in the opening years of the twentieth century.

We are now on the crest of the last big wave of bigotry. The first thing we notice about the present burst of intolerance is the amount of money which the bigots must control. They evidently have a well organized business plan of vilification and a well filled commissary. They have taken all that was best of the old ex-priest business; they get these poor outcasts, the victims of sin and shame; they ordain them ministers of bigotry, and hire them on a profit-sharing plan from the beginning. These poor tools and fools put their names to books they don't write, and deliver awful disclosures "To Men Only," which they did not and could not compose. If the ex-priest supplies are not enough, it is easy to substitute impostures. These are the field agents and the advance guard of the new bigotry. Then must be noticed the vampire press, which is the big end of the business. Linked perhaps financially with Socialism, it is joined socially with all who watch with jealous eye the remark-

able phenomenon of Catholic growth. Its writers are men who are experts in fanning religious hate; men who lie with an ease born of vast experience; men who hate to see the world at peace, and who are chronically unhappy when their neighbors agree. They make charges, publish libels, invent scandals, and appeal for the truth of all to the fact that they are never arrested and never convicted. Here the money end of the business helps in the person of a good lawyer, who advises the writer that all crimes and enormities may be safely charged to communities. To Catholics in general, to priests and nuns as a class, there is no legal redress. The writers are warned against anything particular or specific; however, generalities do not convince, they merely create an atmosphere of thought, so names and places, even notary publics are invented, and the blood-curdling stories of scandal created around imaginary beings read just as well as if they were true. Dates may be changed, and happenings of ancient days may be date-lined as of yesterday. Another avenue of organized bigotry is to be found in the literary world, where our religion, its priests, its Sacraments are insulted, caricatured and held up to ridicule. The stage is not free from the same taint, but it is around election time or when there is a mission to be given that the vampire press does its best work.

No man's religion is ever discussed in politics, or counted as an element of fitness or unfitness, unless that man is a Catholic, and then the cry of Rome at the polls is heard, and the priest in politics is denounced. When a Catholic mission is to be given, or a great Catholic demonstration to be held, hundreds of thousands of copies of the vilest charges against the Catholic Church are spread just to prepare the way for the messenger of

peace, and as a fitting prelude to the celebration. When there is a vote in Congress to be taken on anything affecting the Church, you could steer your way all over Columbia, guided by dodgers giving bogus oaths of priests, Knights of Columbus, horrors of convents, etc. The most scandalous business of the vampire press is its unnameable attacks on the Catholic Sisters. There is no crime of which they are not accused. There is no degree of degradation with which they are not represented as familiar. There seems to be a special department of the vilifying business reserved for nuns alone.

This rapid glance at these various waves of intolerance prepare us for the incident that happened in Pittsburg. The combination of anti-Catholic lectures and sectarian journalism had played such havoc with the ordinary feelings of justice and fair play, that last fall the Bishop of Pittsburg called off the Holy Name parade so as not to give an occasion of a breach of the public peace. I was in England at the time of the incident, and I had the benefit of hearing it discussed in club and car, in public and private meetings. The burden of comment was not on the sectarian strife, but on what had become of the famous American constitutional principle of "Liberty of Conscience." People could understand the massacre of Jews in Russia—there was no liberty of conscience there; there was no religious principle involved. People could understand French spoliation and confiscation—a political vote was all that was needed to steal two hundred million dollars worth of Church property, to empty thousands of pulpits, to forbid the administration of the Sacraments to the living and dying, to justify even the armed entrance into the homes of cloistered women, even at the midnight hour; to drive to the streets the



daughters of France who were even then praying Heaven to avert evil from, and shower blessings on *La Belle France*. But France has no Constitution, it has no principles of liberty like ours, and the action of its government created little surprise. Then some suggested a resemblance to the religious war in a little corner of Ireland, where the "Rome Rule" slogan is being so successfully used to maintain legislative dependence and foreign ascendancy. But England always needed a religious war at home, and always managed to have one, so as to give her a free hand in making some quarter of the world an English dependency. So Europe could supply no explanation of the theory and practice of our religious liberty.

Can we explain it? I am afraid not. At least I cannot. It presupposes a mental condition on the part of those interested hard to understand. It shows a moral turpitude not chronicled in the history of crime. Of course, we Catholics realize that our Church is nineteen hundred years old, and we would be the first to be surprised that it has not made enemies. We would, in fact, begin to question its divinity and its identity with Christ's foundation if persecutions did not exist. Misrepresentations, misunderstandings and persecutions are included as marks of the true Church, we expect to find them; but not in America. We are painfully familiar with these waves of bigotry. We have been patiently suffering for half a century from attacks of the lowest vampire press that ever disgraced the country. We notice, and we are glad to notice this, that there is no other Church in America that is persecuted as ours is. It is time, however, for us to ask where does the demand for such un-Christianity originate? Is it from the fifty million Americans that belong to no Church, and profess no creed?

It may be, but it is hard to imagine why they should single out one from a couple of hundred religious denominations in America for special vilification. Is it from the thirty million American Christians who are not Catholics? No, that idea is absurd and unthinkable. If a few preachers here and there encourage this ignoble propaganda, there are many more who denounce it; yet still the demand for this kind of anti-Catholic bigotry must come from one or other, or both of these two divisions of religious America.

Another question—what is the action of the government in defending its own religious liberty? Is it possible to imagine that tons of filth can pass daily through the mails without being noticed? Is it possible to imagine that the government is unaware of all or any of the foul charges made against priests and nuns? If aware of the charges, why not prosecute the criminals. If the charges are unfounded, why let the government agencies be made the carriers and deliverers of all this lying filth and scandal to all the homes and hamlets of the land? Does the principle of liberty of conscience not presuppose that a man is to be protected against calumny and slander? Why pure food laws and impure mail laws? What about our boasted American chivalry, our much vaunted American manhood, respect for womankind, when fifty thousand of the purest women in America, our Catholic Sisters, are treated as lower than the underworld itself? If one scoundrel's silly attack on eight hundred innocent Mississippi girls rightfully sent a thrill of shame and honest indignation through every Southern heart, what are we to think of the American manhood of to-day that will tolerate the moral assassination of fifty thousand American Sisters? They, too, have feelings—are they

not to be respected? They, too, have rights—are they not to be considered? They, too, have fathers and mothers at home—are they to be ignored? They, too, have little sisters out in the world—are they to be left, publicly stigmatized with their cloistered sisters' shame?

What do we Catholics want? In the first place, we want an aroused, healthy, normal, public opinion. We want nothing more and nothing less than the rights guaranteed to every citizen under the Constitution. We ask for nothing that is not strictly right, and we will submit to nothing that is wrong.

“To bear an open slander is a curse,  
But not to find an answer is much worse.”

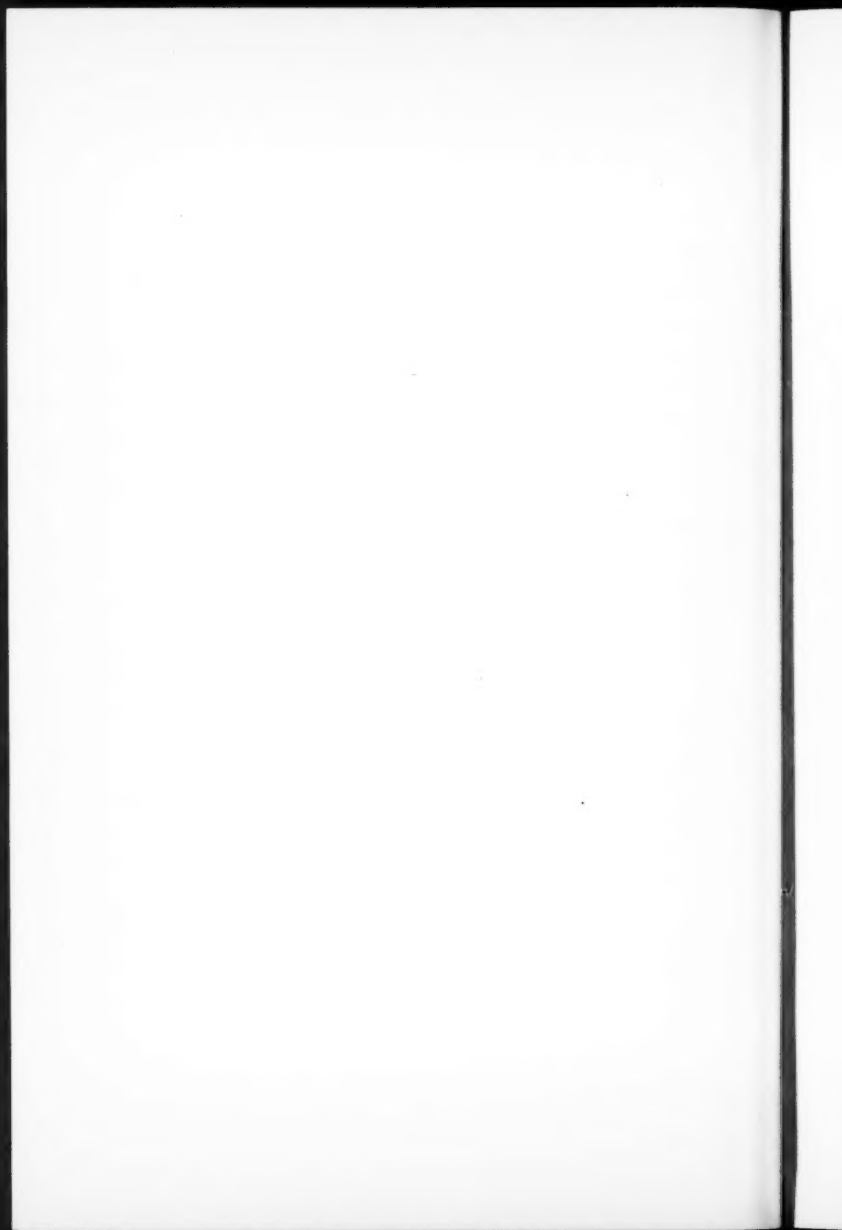
We appeal to the public press, the great maker and unmaker of public opinion. Examine the justice of our claim, and then give us even a share of that mighty support which saved an innocent Jew from Russian hate, and soon the vampire press will be a thing of the past, only a disgraceful memory. We appeal to our separated brethren, who deplore this unworthy attack on the oldest of the Christian religions; some of the bitterest foes of anti-Catholic bigotry are to be found in the pulpits and on the pews of our non-Catholic friends. Those who are sincere themselves give others credit for sincerity. We have a right to ask the government not to put or to permit the vast machinery of its postal service to do the carrying wishes of a reptile press. Could it not frame and pass a bill for the whole country making unlawful the writing, printing, publication, circulation or distribution of any false statement, matter or thing purporting to be the ritual, ceremonial or ceremonies, or part thereof, of any Church, religious society, organization or cor-

poration, or any fraternal, beneficial or secret society, organization or corporation, and making certain testimony in respect thereto competent, and making violation thereof a felony, and providing penalty therefor? This would be a good appendix to the principle of liberty of conscience and religious liberty.

Is the Catholic Church worthy of this appeal it makes to the public and to the government? I will let a Hebrew organ give the first answer: "As regards the Catholics, moreover, let us not forget that they well-nigh constitute the backbone of our fighting forces on sea and land, and they are holders of law and order in our cities and villages. It is an open truth that the Catholics furnish the largest proportion of blue coats, blue jackets, and boys in khaki." Here is another witness, Senator Mark Hanna: "There is a crisis coming which will have to be met, and the sooner the better; there is no place in this country for anarchy and treason. In this connection I once said that in the day of trouble the United States must look to the Supreme Court and to the Roman Catholic Church. I will go further now and say that I believe the best friend and protector the people and the flag shall have in its hour of trial will be the Roman Church, always conservative and fair and loyal. This is the power that shall save us."

And, finally, let us hear from the grand old man, one of the greatest minds and statesmen of the nineteenth century, W. E. Gladstone: "The Catholic Church has marched for fifteen hundred years at the head of civilization, and is harnessed to a chariot as the horses of a triumphal car, the chief intellectual and material forces of the world; her art, the art of the world; her genius, the genius of the world; her greatness, her glory, her

grandeur and majesty have been almost though not absolutely all that in these respects the world has to boast of. Her children are more numerous than all the children of the sects combined; she is every day enlarging the boundaries of her vast empire; her altars are raised in every clime and her missionaries go wherever there are men to be taught the evangel of immortality, and souls to be saved. And this wondrous Church, which is as old as Christianity, and as universal as mankind, is to-day, after its twenty centuries of age, as fresh and vigorous and as fruitful as on the day when the Pentecostal fires were showered upon the earth."



## The Church and Secular Learning

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It is a common objection to the Catholic Church that she is not a friend to secular learning. It is not merely that she neglects it, as being a matter outside her province, with which she has no concern. She is represented as positively hostile to it, as recognizing that there is, and must necessarily be, a fatal opposition between her and true learning, and as anxious to encourage the ignorance of her children in order to maintain their loyalty to herself. The charge is scarcely ever brought against the Church of early or of medieval times. It is admitted that whatever learning there was among European nations until the sixteenth century they owed almost entirely to the Church. If we except Spain, where the Moors held portions of the country, and cultivated philosophy and literature, the schools—parochial, episcopal, monastic—and the universities were all Church institutions. The Church not only encouraged secular learning, she zealously promoted it. It is only with the rise of what we call the modern experimental sciences—sciences such as astronomy, chemistry, biology, history, and archæology—that occasion offered for any serious conflict between secular learning and the Church. Since then we are asked to believe the Church has been, sometimes openly, sometimes covertly, but always earnestly and persistently, an enemy of scientific progress—indeed, of all real education. Her condemnation of Galileo and of the Copernican system at the beginning of the seven-

teenth century, as it disproves her claim to infallibility, so it makes plain her habitual attitude towards scientific truth, her fear of it, and her desire to suppress it, when she has the power to do so.

The Church, it is said, is driven by the very necessity of her position to adopt this course. She makes such extreme demands on the credulity of her members, she proposes to them for belief so much that is superstitious, unhistorical, unscientific and irrational, that she must in self-defense discourage any large measure of intellectual development and of exact knowledge. Besides, her very existence is bound up with the power and influence of her priesthood; Catholics believe what their priests teach them, and because the priests teach it, and the power and influence of the priesthood are based on the ignorance of the faithful. The more highly educated men are, the less likely are they to accept kindly a guidance whose appeal is to authority. Hence experience goes to show that advance in secular learning is accompanied usually by a weakening of Catholicism. The age of the Renaissance was an age of scepticism. The atmosphere of a modern university is unfavorable to Catholic dogma. The free discussion of religious problems tends to unsettle Catholic minds; and the most Catholic peoples of modern times, the masses of the population in Italy, Portugal and Spain are also the least highly educated in Europe.

This, then, is the difficulty we have to consider to-day; and I would observe upon it, in the first place, that, even were it true, it would be no serious objection to the claims of the Catholic Church. How far it is from being true, and how insufficient the reasons are which are put forward to justify it, we shall see to-day and in later lectures. But, for the moment, let us suppose the accusation to



be well founded. Let us suppose that the Catholic Church does recognize an enemy in secular learning, and does, consequently, so far as she dares venture, dissuade her children from cultivating it. In such a supposition, ought she to be blamed? She is in possession of all divinely revealed truths and of all the divinely appointed means of salvation. Her mission is to preserve these truths, and to induce men to accept and to profess them, to minister the means of grace and induce men to use them. Her supreme duty is to sanctify and save men's souls. Now, if human science were really hostile to revealed religion; if it were practically impossible or even difficult to reconcile profane learning with simple faith and the exercises of Catholic piety, the Church would be plainly bound to foster ignorance amongst her members. What can it avail a man to gain all knowledge, if he suffer the loss of his own soul? And how could the Church encourage or be indifferent to studies, the tendency and outcome of which is to frustrate and nullify the work she has been sent to do? In the eyes of the Church and revealed religion the penny catechism is of incomparably greater value than the loftiest treatise on mathematics and the profoundest and most original works on history or physics; the unlettered saintly peasant in the wilds of Donegal or Connemara is immeasurably nearer to the ideal which the Church must ever labor to produce than the highly cultured, intellectual unbeliever, whom the world of science is agreed to honor.

But this is not, in fact, the attitude of the Church towards secular learning. For there is no necessary antagonism between them. It must, indeed, be granted that there is a very marked contrast between the nature and the methods of science and the nature and method

of Church teaching. The former, if we except pure mathematics, is mainly engaged in observing facts, so far as they fall under experience, in cataloguing and classifying them, and in endeavoring to gather from them the principles and laws from which they spring and by which they are governed. And hence the conclusions of science are so often provisional and uncertain: the received hypothesis of to-day makes way for a different one to-morrow. New excavations have been made, new experiments have been carried through, new facts have been observed, new documents have been discovered. Hence, too, the genuine progress that is often made in science. Hence the small part which mere authority plays in its birth and growth; and its indifference to tradition and antiquity. But the teaching of the Church makes no appeal to experience. It is not based upon observed facts. It is not to be demonstrated by logical arguments. It rests upon authority. Some part, indeed, of the content of revelation may be proved by natural reason; for God has seen fit to reveal to us not merely the supernatural truths and facts of faith, but many truths of the natural order also. We do not, however, believe even these truths because reason proves them. We believe them, as we believe every truth of faith, even its sublimest mysteries, "because of the authority of God Himself, who can neither deceive nor be deceived," as the Council of the Vatican has defined it. Authority, then, is the very foundation of the Church's teaching. We believe revealed truth because God has revealed it; we can know that He has revealed it, and we can know the inferences which may legitimately be drawn from His revelation, because His infallible Church so teaches. Hence the teachings of our faith, as proposed to us by the Church, are so absolute and certain.

They cannot change from age to age. Experiments, discoveries, can have no effect upon them. The infallibly true of yesterday must be true to-day, and must be true to-morrow and eternally. Hence, too, there is no progress in our religion by the addition of new truths not handed down from the beginning: we can only believe what the Apostles taught, what was contained in the revealed deposit entrusted to them. And hence our reverence for and our frequent appeals to Christian antiquity and tradition.

Now I do not deny that this difference and contrast between the Catholic religion and profane science may, in certain cases, create a danger of antagonism between them. Habitually to concentrate the mind upon one particular subject or class of subjects will often indispose it to consider others fairly which are greatly dissimilar in character: a man long absorbed in problems of astronomy is at a disadvantage when he turns to historical investigations. Again, familiarity with the methods of one's own favorite science may lead one to view with suspicion or disfavor the methods, however excellent if unfamiliar, of another: thus the exact reasoning of the mathematician unfits him sometimes for weighing justly the less closely knitted arguments in psychology or physics. It seems reasonable, then, to admit a tendency in secular learning, more particularly in the experimental sciences—a tendency which we should expect to become more marked as the mind is more concentrated on them—to arouse a prejudice against revealed religion. It is not only that the time and energy which must be expended in order to achieve distinction in profane studies leave insufficient time and energy for specializing in the study of religion, though this also is generally the case. But the temper of mind which leads to distinction in

secular learning, and is fostered by it, the natural bias in favor of one's own methods of study, mode of reasoning, and subject matters of investigation, will be rather a hindrance than a help when applied to religion. We are not surprised, then, that persons of genuine scientific eminence, men deservedly distinguished in law, physics, medicine, mathematics, and kindred subjects, are so little moved at times by the arguments for the Catholic Church and Faith. They have not specialized knowledge; they have not opportunity for adequate investigation; they have not the habits of thought and other predispositions which would enable them to form a right and impartial judgment. Add to this the fact that profane learning advances with wealth and ease and luxury; and that these, for reasons which we may not enter into now, are rather unfavorable than otherwise, not only to the practice of the Catholic religion, but even to an intellectual acceptance of it; and we shall readily understand the possibility or likelihood of occasional apparent conflict between our religion and secular learning:

But true conflict there can be none. For in general, the provinces in which faith and human science move are wholly different and distinct from one another. Faith is concerned mainly with truths of the supernatural order, with which experiment, induction, and all the arguments of human reason have naught to do. Secular science deals chiefly with the things of sense, and never rises to the supernatural at all. If, then, the student of revealed religion and the student of natural science kept each to his own domain, there would, as a rule, be no opportunity for collision. There can be no combat where there is no common ground on which the combatants can meet. But scientists and theologians are ever under the temptation to pass beyond their own rightful boundaries, to exercise

their activity, and apply their principles and methods, in questions with which they have not been suitably prepared to deal. There are questions which are common to both: there are the truths of natural theology, such as the existence, unity, and providence of God; philosophical truths, such as the immortality of the soul and the freedom of the human will; and facts of history, such as the origin of this ordered universe and the earthly race of men; and innumerable incidents concerning individuals and peoples in both the Old and New Testaments. But even here the conflict can never be more than apparent. Truth cannot contradict truth; what reason demonstrates cannot be contrary to what God Himself testifies. Of course, even apparent conflict would be avoided if theologian and scientist were both infallible; if the one set out for us only revealed truths and the inferences which may legitimately be deduced from them, and the other were never mistaken in his principles and facts, and the inductions which they seem to him to warrant. Unfortunately, neither scientist nor theologian is infallible; God alone is, and the Catholic Church, which He has established. We are not concerned, therefore, with the controversies of individual teachers; we have to deal with cases only in which the authoritative teaching of the Church seems to be contradicted by the received teachings of human science.

Now, the authoritative teaching of the Church is of a three-fold kind: We have the solemn teaching of Popes and Councils and the ordinary teaching of the dispersed Episcopate, in which they infallibly set forth doctrines as expressly and in themselves revealed by God; and these doctrines we hold, on the divine authority, as articles of divine faith. We have, next, a body of truths, which God has not Himself explicitly revealed, but which are

logically bound up with, or follow by necessary consequence from, truths so revealed; and these, too, the Church, Pope and Bishops, teach infallibly, and we believe not, however, as doctrines of divine faith, but as certain beyond all possibility of error, because of the Church's infallible authority. Finally, we have Church teaching which is authoritative, even in the sphere of revealed truth, yet not infallible. Each Bishop in his diocese, certain Roman Congregations, whom the Pope employs to assist him in his labors, the Pope himself, when he preaches to the faithful of his Roman Bishopric, or speaks as the President of a Roman Congregation, or even addresses the whole Church as its Chief Pastor, but not as defining a matter of faith or morals—all these teach authoritatively. When their teaching contradicts the received teachings of human science, what is the mental attitude which we Catholics should adopt?

If the Church's teaching be of the first or second kind, if Pope or Bishops have already solemnly pronounced, in questions of divine faith, or in others intimately connected with them, we can have no doubt or hesitation. The teaching of the Church is true; every teaching opposed to it must be mistaken and erroneous. Contradictory doctrines cannot both be true. For that of the Church, in the cases we are considering, we have infallible authority; we know it, therefore, to be true, and in so knowing it, we know the falsehood of all contrary opinions. It happens often, as the Vatican Council tells us, that "an appearance of unreal conflict is due either to understanding and explaining the dogmas of the faith otherwise than the Church would have us understand them, or else to holding mere erroneous opinions to be reason's dictates"; and care and caution are necessary at times, in order to distinguish the authoritative teaching of the

Church from the views of individuals or of particular schools of theology. But, when once we have learned with certainty what that teaching is, the conflict is decided for us: we are as sure that scientists are wrong, as we are sure that God is infinitely wise and infinitely truthful. When, however, the teaching is of the third kind—and this is what concerns us most, in practice—when a Bishop in his diocese, a local council, a Roman Congregation, or a Pope in his ordinary allocutions and encyclicals, pronounces on a doctrine connected with religion, when they determine what is to be believed or what must be rejected, how are we to receive their pronouncements? In a celebrated letter to the Archbishop of Munich, and dealing with the relations between human science and revealed religion, Pope Pius IX appears to demand not merely respect and external submission for the decrees of Roman Congregations, but interior assent also. Yet these Congregations are not infallible. The Pope cannot communicate his own gift of infallibility to them. He does not even share it with them, when he presides at their discussions, or confirms their findings, as their official chairman. But it is not only an infallible teaching authority which may claim our interior assent. A mother with her little child, a priest with his parishioners, a Bishop in his diocese—they have all a right that their religious teaching shall be accepted and believed in, unless there be some clear and sufficient reason for doubting or rejecting it. And so, too, it is with Roman Congregations, and with the Pope himself, in the circumstances I have referred to. They speak to us with authority, and, as I suppose, within the subject matter of their teaching office. They may, indeed, err, and have erred, undoubtedly in some rare cases; for they are not infallible. But the presumption is wholly in their favor; they are experts;

they have abundant opportunity for study and consultation; their work is carried on at the very centre of the Church's life; we may reasonably hope that they receive a special, though not compelling, divine guidance; they have been lawfully appointed to their high office, whose duties they fulfil with grave deliberation. What better credentials could they have, short of infallibility? We assent, therefore, to their teaching, when there is no serious ground for doubt or hesitation. But, as they themselves may revise and change their doctrinal decisions, so we assent to them, not absolutely and beyond recall, but with the implied reserve that we may possibly see reason later to modify our opinions. If, therefore, their teaching should come into conflict with the conclusions of secular science; if the Biblical Commission should determine questions of textual criticism, or the Holy Office condemn doctrine and propositions, or the Pope himself put forward his personal views in philosophy or economics, while secular specialists are agreed in holding otherwise, our Catholic position is well defined and certain: we are strongly prejudiced in favor of our religious teachers. We shall accept their decisions, if there be no convincing argument to the contrary. But there may be; and we are free to weigh and to discuss it, if presented to us. Nay, more, we are free to admit its force, to become converts to it, and consequently, to withhold our assent from the Roman decisions, or to withdraw it, if already given. A further question may arise as to how far and in what manner we may express dissent; but there is no need to treat of it at present.

Such, then, being the possibility and the likelihood of conflicts between science and religion, and such the Catholic temper of mind, when apparent conflicts occur, we pass on to inquire what the attitude of the Church



is towards human science and secular learning, from whose activity and progress such conflicts generally spring. We note, first of all, that it is one of absolute fearlessness, as regards the consequence to herself and to her doctrines of any progress which human science can achieve. She knows her doctrines to be true, because God Himself vouches for them; and she knows herself to be imperishable, because she has God's promise. Other religious bodies may fear the attacks of scientific learning; they have no divine guarantee of truth, no divine promise of perpetuity. The Catholic Church can have no fear: she has both guarantee and promise. We note next that the Church has no mission to promote profane learning. Her mission is to save souls, not to cultivate the natural intelligence: "Preach the Gospel to every creature, teaching them to do all things whatsoever I have commanded you." No doubt, the Church, like her divine Founder, during His lifetime upon earth, confers benefits upon mankind beyond the purpose and work for which she has been directly sent. While bestowing on the world the high supernatural blessings entrusted to her keeping, she has bestowed many other blessings as well. She has civilized Europe; she has encouraged the arts; she has fostered patriotism, protected civil liberties, upheld the cause of the oppressed; she has established hospitals; she has founded schools and universities; she has fought to meet the needs of her children, whatever they might be. But all these things she has not done for their own sake. Like the miracles of Our Blessed Lord, they were done out of kindness and compassion, or else to help on her own peculiar work. She has not been sent to teach letters, or to study biology and chemistry, or to assist mankind in the pursuit of any knowledge which is concerned with the world only. It is simply

no affair of hers. But she wishes well to every branch of human knowledge. Truth of whatever kind is among the fairest of the goods which men can seek; and all study of truth develops and perfects the intelligence, and makes it better fitted to grasp and penetrate the doctrines of our faith. For, although it be the case, as we have already reflected, that secular knowledge, when cultivated exclusively, or without Christian safeguards, is only too likely to create a temper of mind which is an obstacle to humble acceptance of Revelation, or may lead to its wilful rejection, it is also the case that none have been more simple and whole-hearted believers than men of great intellectual powers, devoted to science and scientific investigation. I need not bring together a catalogue of names. You yourselves will remember men, and not a few, who remain famous in medicine, mathematics, law, astronomy, physics, chemistry, history and other natural sciences, men who were at the same time admirable and devoted Catholics. Moreover, they were all the better Catholics, because of their highly-developed intelligence and great learning. The very gifts, which to others might have been a source of danger and temptation, were to them a means of estimating difficulties at their proper value and of finding their solution.

So it is that scientific men find no hindrance in the Catholic Church to their profoundest studies and most daring investigations. We know it is charged against the Church that she discourages research, and that her system, her government, her defined doctrines are calculated to harass and fetter the student of science. He must ever carry in his memory, it is objected, the dogmas of his religion; he must bear in mind the solemn decisions of Popes and Councils; he must keep before his eyes the multitudinous decrees of Roman Congregations; he must

have regard to the common teaching in the schools of theology; he must keep in touch with Catholic opinion throughout the world; and, if he find that the tendency of his studies, the conclusions which seem to follow on the facts which he observes, are not in accord with these standards of religious orthodoxy, he must desist from his investigations, or, worse still, do violence to truth and to his scientific conscience. A hard case, if it were a true one, and one which would not merely hamper the Catholic scientist, but would make his work impossible. Therefore, we know it is not true. The Catholic student of science is bound down by no such absurd conditions. First, it must be clear that he need not burthen himself with such a detailed and extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical opinion; he is not obliged to be a widely-read and highly-trained theologian. He requires no more elaborate theological equipment than if he had engaged in no such work of study and research at all. Of course, it is true, as Pope Pius IX reminded the congress of German theologians, which assembled at Munich in 1863, that "Catholics who cultivate the natural sciences must keep divine revelation before their eyes as a leading star, by whose light they may guard themselves against danger and errors"; but the Holy Father spoke rather of the use they should make of the religious knowledge they possessed than of any obligation to acquire it. It is certain, then—and indeed self-evident, if our religion be divine—that infallibly defined doctrines constitute a standard of truth, with which all the results of scientific study must necessarily conform. Nor may any Catholic, in whatever studies he is engaged, maintain opinions which he knows, beyond reasonable doubt, to be opposed to divine revelation or to infallible Church definitions. But does this arrest him in his work, or hamper his freedom

while he does it? Such opinions, he must be convinced, are false; they are contradicted by truths for which God Himself stands sponsor: common sense no less than the Catholic religion forbids him to hold or to defend them. It is all clear gain for himself and for his work that the falsity of such opinions should be made plain to him on God's authority. But he may continue his investigations without fear or anxiety. He may carry on his excavations, or decipher manuscripts, or push forward his experiments, or examine his own consciousness of will and feeling. He may note down his facts, and catalogue and order them; he may even point out the conclusions which they seem to lead to. Real facts can never be opposed to the Church's infallible teaching. If his conclusion be rightly drawn his facts are wrong; if his facts be right, his inference is illogical and erroneous.

But what if scientific results seem opposed to fallible ecclesiastical decisions or opinions, to a Roman decree, an ordinary Papal allocution or encyclical, a commonly received view in the theological schools or among the faithful? It does not, of course, at once follow that science is at fault and the alleged results deceptive. Ecclesiastical opinion may at times be wrong, though, for the reasons already referred to, the presumption will be almost always in its favor. The facts and the arguments of science may be of such a character as to secure later a reversal or modification of a religious opinion commonly entertained or of an ecclesiastical decision. Notable instances of such change are to be found in the interpretation of the Mosaic "days" of creation, and of the universality of the deluge; in accepted opinion on the sphericity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes; on the authorship of the Athanasian creed and of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite; on the merits

of the Copernican system of astronomy; and on other questions which might be quoted. Moreover, we are not only prepared for such occasional changes in religious opinions and decision: we anticipate and look for them. If God has seen fit to bestow infallibility upon His Church only within very definite limits, within those of the "deposit of faith," in its stricter and in its wider meaning, and if the faithful, Bishops, Popes, and even Councils, have no promise of unerring guidance outside those limits, we must expect to meet at times with mistaken religious views, which many of the faithful hold, and Church teachers allow or encourage. For religion cannot be enclosed within the boundaries of the "deposit"; and in a multitude of views and judgments upon a great variety of religious questions, many of them obscure and difficult, it is morally impossible that no errors should creep in, unless God Himself intervenes miraculously to prevent them. The wonder is, and it approaches well nigh to moral miracle, that outside the province of revealed truth, and, therefore, of infallible divine assistance, there should have been so few general religious errors during the long history of the Catholic Church. It is an additional argument for confidence in those Papal pronouncements and congregational decrees and commonly received views among the faithful, which we hold to lie outside the promise of infallibility, but to which we give, and when no convincing reason is opposed to it, give rightly, a willing and interior assent. Should, however, a case occur in which the scientific arguments appear convincing, the Catholic scientific worker is nowise bound to accept ecclesiastical teaching to the contrary, teaching which is admittedly not infallible. He may still be bound to observe a "respectful silence"; and, if the Church command it, he must, of course, obey. Not every

truth can be safely made known at all times and under all circumstances; there are very few scientific truths which a man is obliged in conscience to publish to the world; and he should have regard to the reverence which is owing to authority, even when it errs, and to the danger of "scandalizing the brethren." But he may hold for himself, at any rate, the conclusions at which he has arrived, and may freely push on his investigations. He will not intrude into the province of religion; he will not, if he be wise, endeavor to explain religious teachings so as to fit them in with his own scientific theories; still less will he insist on the antagonism between them. He will confine himself to his own scientific province; and in that province he is free.

The Church, assuredly, will lay no shackles upon him, or on the freedom of his studies. He may not contradict revealed dogmas or infallibly defined truths. He must take such account as we have described of the less authoritative teaching and beliefs, which he knows to prevail amongst the faithful. He must be prepared to obey the doctrinal decisions of the Church's rulers. And, with these dispositions, he may throw himself unreservedly and without anxiety into his own special studies; not scrutinizing narrowly at every stage how far his results accord with theological opinion; following after truth, upon the principles and by the methods of his own science; and confident that he has nothing to fear from any interference of the Church, unless he himself makes an incursion into her territory.

## The Labor Question

*Pastoral Address of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, Assembled in Special Meeting at Maynooth, February 11, 1914, to Their Flocks.*

VERY REVEREND AND REVEREND FATHERS AND DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST:

As pastors of the faithful children of St. Patrick we have deeply felt the pain and sorrow which a prolonged labor dispute, of singular mischief in its various complications, has brought on our people. Hence the responsibility now devolves upon us of addressing to you this pastoral letter in reference to the means by which such great evils, spiritual and temporal, as this deplorable quarrel has unfortunately produced may, through the divine mercy, be prevented in the years to come.

The great lesson from this sad experience is the imperative need of well-formed conciliation boards, duly representative of both sides, to adjust differences as they arise. Masters and men have a common interest in industry: and that is the way to maintain it for the common good. For the requisite organization strong Irish trade unions, conducted on sound principles, can do much in industrial centres, as they can likewise to serve other useful purposes of a kindred nature.

A strong association of workers is not likely either to accept less than a living wage or to plead compulsion when a collective bargain is authorized by a regular ballot of its members. The sense of Christian duty, as of manly self-respect and honor, has then fair play to in-

fluence conduct, and to develop a sound tone and tradition in industrial relations. The employers, likewise, need their unions. But disputes there will be. The making of a bargain in which a multitude is concerned, and the varying circumstances of persons and events, naturally lead to sharp divergences from time to time; and then a fair jury should have a chance of bringing in its verdict before the protagonists on either side let loose the horrors of war. Nothing less is demanded by the interests of the parties themselves. Nothing less is fair to the public.

In connection with the labor question, it is the laborers who have the first claim on our consideration. Though there is no counting the number of unsuccessful manufacturers and of unprosperous merchants, business and trade make men rich, and industry will not flourish and will not give employment unless it brings wealth in its train. But for our part, when we desire ardently to see suitable industries thrive in town and country, our desire is not for the enrichment of any class, but for such employment and remuneration of Irish labor at home as will afford our working people a worthy livelihood, and stem the tide of depopulating emigration.

In backward districts, or where foreign competitors have got far ahead, or where from other reasons existing circumstances are unfavorable, the workers need not expect at the start the full measure of remuneration to which they are entitled when the industry has reached normal conditions. But out of the average thriving business the workman may well claim, in return for his honest day's work, what will at least procure worthy maintenance for himself and his little family, with such "outlet and outlook," to use the phrase of a living states-



man in a like connection, as are implied in a reasonable opportunity to improve steadily the condition of his household.

Nothing less is fair recompense for hard work, temperance, and thrift. As a rule the laborers who toil at the heaviest work for the lowest pay have not received a fair share of the wealth they do so much to produce. Under the sway of materialist economics less than a hundred years ago men and machinery were treated as one in the greatest manufacturing centres, except, indeed, that the machinery was better cared for.

But the Catholic Church has never accepted and never could accept the doctrine that there was any body of human beings that no one was bound to look after; and among the classes that compose lay society, apart from the infirm and destitute, no class has ever had from her the same warm, watchful, courageous care as those who literally earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. They needed it most, and they had it most. They had it when they were not the great power in the State that they are now, that they need to be in our time for the protection of their interests, and that they deserve to be because of their essential services to the community.

Friendship for honest toil is seen from the first in the life of the Church. Amidst a perverse world that held manual labor in dishonor her Divine Founder was a carpenter by trade, the Prince of the Apostles and many of his colleagues were humble fishermen, the Doctor of the Gentiles was a tentmaker. The Fathers of the Church extolled the rights and dignity of labor. Her monks preached and practised manual toil. In the course of her combat with oppression, lasting through centuries, she emancipated labor by abolishing slavery, and kept it free

by banning usury and by encouraging unions among different classes of workers for improvement and defence.

The combined action of the members of these associations was all the more effective in that they were welded together in the practice of religion, and conscious of the freedom which the truth of the Gospel brings to men. And when, in consequence of mechanical invention and the dominance of inhuman economics, the old protective associations were dissolved, or became unsuited to the circumstances of a new industrial era, and workmen were left to survive, if they could, where labor-saving machinery had supplanted them, the Church rejoiced at every legitimate combination of the toilers to uphold their rights and demand redress for their many grievances. Her zeal for them, her respect and love for them in the twentieth century flow from the same divinely established source from which sprang the demands for liberty and justice to the oppressed and enslaved toilers which her pastors uttered in the first centuries in face of a scornful pagan world. No absolution of capital, no utter dependence of labor can be laid to her charge. A sharp division between the employer and the employed is none of her work. But since the dividing line has been so rigidly drawn she ever fosters harmony between labor and capital, as the sound basis of their common interest in industry, and she earnestly desires that each of them should have a fair return from the joint contributions of both.

The Encyclical of Leo XIII, issued in 1891, "On the Condition of Labor," contains great lessons for workers and employers alike. It is rightly called the charter of the working classes. Their rights, their duties, their dangers, their safeguards are set forth in it by the successor of the fisherman, the Vicar of Christ; by one who

had their welfare at heart, as his Master had, and who was fortified with ample knowledge and full authority to uphold their interests within the full compass of the divine law.

Employers and men should not be content with such fragments of that noble Christian philosophy of social and industrial life as seem to suit them at the moment. They should read the encyclical over and over again; and the boys and girls of the industrial classes as they grow up should be thoroughly schooled in a teaching that is so appropriate to their condition in life, if they are to be trained aright for the duties of Christian citizenship.

[The Bishops then quote passages from Pope Leo's great encyclical calling for a quick remedy for the present misery and wretchedness of the poor; demonstrating the mistake of the Socialists in setting class against class and advocating the dispossession of those who have; insisting on the powerfulness of religion to adjust the relations between employers and employed; insisting on the respect of rights wherever they are found, the security of owners of property on the one hand and the protection of the workmen on the other. Whilst contracts may be left free, there is a dictate of nature more imperious and ancient than any bargain: the remuneration should be a living wage.]

As might be expected, many foolish words, many unfair and wicked things, were said and written during the recent labor troubles. One of the most unbecoming and most ungrateful utterances was an attempt to belittle Leo XIII's great encyclical. It will be treated as of no account, or as a mere primer on the labor question by none but those who aim at destruction and not at construction, or who have never given it careful study, or who are in-

capable of realizing that a brief statement of fundamental truths in social and industrial life from a master mind and master authority may present its most far-reaching principles better than libraries of wild theory that cannot stand practical examination and must dissolve under the scrutiny of reason, to say nothing of revelation. With the lapse of time questions must arise that will need their own solutions in the light of their own circumstances. But none is likely to emerge in the domain of industrial disputes that will fail to be helped towards a solution by a reference to the basis of right, declared as the law of divine justice in that courageous pronouncement.

In sorrow, not in anger, does the Holy Father endeavor to save men from following a will-o'-the-wisp into the quagmire of Socialism. But the evils that lead so many to embrace the Socialist creed, which, as a body of teaching, centres human existence on an impossible equality, or that impel them to have recourse to the ruinous strikes and lock-outs which are becoming more and more frequent, and the remedies for these evils were not hidden from the keen vision of Leo XIII. If he has exposed the injustice and the folly of Socialist doctrine, which since then has considerably moderated its official tone, and vindicated man's rights to private property, proving it to be necessary in the interests of the workman, not less than of anyone else, he has also proclaimed the need for a far wider distribution of ownership than now exists; and he has done so as an adjunct to his memorable teaching on the living wage. "The law, therefore," he says, "should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many of the people as possible to become owners!" Then he adds, "Many excellent results will

follow from this; and, first of all, property will certainly become more equally divided."

The desire of ownership which, within due bounds, is natural and legitimate in man and may be highly commendable, springs from the laudable purpose of providing a stable way for himself and those depending upon him. The real explanation why multitudes of men, otherwise as good as their neighbors, have swelled the ranks of Socialism seems to be, not that they hated private property on principle, but that by nature and in fact they loved to have it, and saw no avenue leading to participation in it except the fantastic way that opens on the dismal swamp where there is to be State ownership of the instruments of production and distribution, and State intrusion everywhere. It is indeed, the duty of the State to see that the national resources are turned to good account for the support and welfare of all the people; and, consequently, the State or municipality should acquire, always for just compensation, those agencies of production, and those agencies only in which the public interest demands that public property rather than private ownership should exist.

Fortunately the trend of land settlement in this country is in the direction of reasonably sized holdings owned by their occupiers; and under native management it is not too much to expect that a model system of employment will be developed by degrees in suitable variety, so that Christian comradeship between men and masters and a sense of joint interest may be the rule and not the exception. An opportunity to share in the profits or to acquire a co-partnership, or at least to benefit in some permanent way by the continued prosperity of the undertaking, might with great advantage be embodied in a scheme of

employment. In this manner good, steady, whole-hearted work would be encouraged, and the men would have a chance of becoming masters through their own exertions.

The difficulty of conducting successfully a commercial undertaking in the management of which the workers would have a voice, may, in most cases, be too much for us at present. But it looks as if the industrial world were at a stage of transition when such things are likely to be; and, though machinery and invention have made a lasting change in the industrial system, it is to be remembered that the Church, in the interests of mankind, has ever desired a wide distribution of property, and in her days of greatest social power sanctioned a large control of industry by the workers. What she never did, and never can do, is to countenance wrongful interference with capital or contracts, any more than she can sanction an invasion of the rights of labor.

The smashing of labor would be a wicked and barbarous program however it might be explained. But, unless some such plan as we have just referred to be possible and adequate for the purpose in view, there is no legitimate way of giving effect to the almost equally barbaric formula of smashing capital. It is the use of capital by employers that is marked out for destruction.

Under Syndicalism the employer is compelled to disappear, and the workers are supposed to do everything and manage everything in an industrial federation away from State control. But without capital from some quarter nothing can be done in the world of industry, even if the management were competent; and to seize the property of employers would be wholesale robbery paving the way to anarchy.

Well, civilization cannot afford to dissolve into chaos

in Ireland or anywhere else. It will not do to overthrow human society or reverse the wheels of progress. We have got to hold fast to Christian principles. If, therefore, associations of workers cannot acquire the means in a legitimate way, or if with the necessary capital they are incapable from their circumstances of conducting industrial concerns successfully, what is to be said is that a good man can thrive on fair wages if the housekeeping is what it ought to be, and there remain such plans as we have already indicated by which industrious workers in the course of their employment may share in the industry or become masters themselves.

Certainly the wage system should be so improved as nowhere to deserve the name of sweating or wage-slavery. "When workpeople," says Leo XIII, "have recourse to a strike it is frequently because the hours of labor are too long or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures." It is the inhuman offence of crushing labor that is responsible for the cry against capital. Whether our workers have yet arrived at the stage of setting much store on proprietorship in any degree or not, they rightly have a keen sense of the value of proper dwellings in which to live. Housing accommodation is not less important for them than the amount of their wages. What chance is there for health or comfort, temperance or thrift, home education or a Christian life, if a married man has not a sanitary dwelling of three or four rooms to shelter his family? A healthy home for the town worker finds a precedent that should be followed, so far as conditions allow, in the fine accommodation for agricultural laborers that now adorns many an Irish

countryside. It is a case in which private enterprise, the provision made by some employers, and the efforts of philanthropy need to be supplemented by municipal encouragement and State aid.

When, however, improved tenement houses in the city and separate cottages in the city or its suburbs have brought the dwellings of laborers and artisans up to a fair standard, and when the wages of the worst paid and hardest workers are higher than they are now, it is not to be expected that all disputes about wages, hours, work, and treatment will disappear. Even if there were no employers inclined to be exacting and no workers inclined to idle, it is in the nature of things, certainly in man's nature, and in the interests of progress, that changes should be sought with changing times and circumstances. An employer may resist where he should comply, a worker may make a new demand where he should rest content. The common sense, therefore, of the matter is that, in the spirit of mutual interest, the whole issue should be considered by capable men, fairly representing both sides with a view to an arrangement, if possible, and that no extreme course should be taken except as a last resort and in a constitutional way by the free ballot of men in full possession of the merits of the case on both sides. The public, also, should be afforded opportunities to form its opinion before war breaks out, if indeed the name of war can be applied to a conflict in which it is wrong to destroy property or do bodily hurt to anyone.

Hence, while not expressing an opinion on the inquiry recently held by the Board of Trade in Dublin, we cannot too warmly recommend some such scheme of conciliation as that set forth in the second part of the report then submitted. The proposals it contains offer something



really valuable in substitution for the sudden or sympathetic strike or lock-out and they provide fairly for breaches of agreement. Its application in the capital of Ireland to as many departments of industry as possible would be a useful example for other Irish cities and towns. The matter seems to us so urgent as to brook no delay beyond the time necessary to make carefully considered arrangements for each of the industries concerned.

In every civilized country, but certainly in Ireland, there ought, we repeat, to be an efficient means of settling labor disputes without recourse to strikes and lock-outs until all else fails. Woeful want in the homes of the workers, heavy loss to the employers, grave inconvenience and injury to the public, deplorable waste of time and resources, great setback to industry, sacrifice of the material interests of the nation for the advantage of her rivals, violence and bloodshed, and an avalanche of unchristian language charged with perverted opinions and voicing feelings of hatred, revenge, and all uncharitableness, are some of the evil consequences with which we are not unfamiliar. Our people, indeed, are the last who should use this rough weapon against one another. They are kindly by nature, religious by conviction, and not unaware of the almost irreparable loss inflicted on Irish trade, industry, and commerce, by jealous neighbors in the past, or of the urgent need to develop native employment with the greatest care and patience. When it comes to a strike or a lock-out, too often, not right, but might, settles the issue. Well, it is not placing too high an estimate on the character of our people to say that if they had a controversy with another nation, and strength were on their side, they would be the first to propose that

the justice of the case should be ascertained by a competent tribunal, and that right should be allowed to prevail. As Irishmen and as Christians they would use their strength for defence, not for offence, in dealing with outsiders. Now we owe one another, to say the least of it, as much as we owe the stranger, and resort to the rough arbitrament of a strike or a lock-out is out of keeping with our place in Christian civilization if more rational methods be available to assert our claims to fair play.

Mainly through trade unions, with all their shortcomings, have the working-classes secured something corresponding with the protection which, in a different industrial order, the Church promoted in former times. Their organization is most desirable. If based on Christian principles, the more widespread in industrial centres, and the more perfect it is, the better for all concerned. But were their strength ten times as great as it is, it would not be wise and it might be criminal to use it in the form of a strike to settle a labor dispute that could be fairly arranged in a conference between the parties. The same, of course, holds for a lock-out by employers. What is the use of saying that a sympathetic strike or lock-out may be justifiable in conceivable circumstances when the real point is that the sympathetic strike or lock-out is ruinous to industry, and therefore to employment, unless it be fenced round with most careful safeguards?

What, again, is the use of saying that a contract made under compulsion is not binding when the important point is, that unless the sacredness of contracts entered into by men enjoying average freedom in regard to them is upheld there is an end to the confidence in man's plighted word, which is the bond of human intercourse, the main-

stay of fair dealing, and the basis of business enterprise everywhere? Disregard of contracts by workers may have its counterpart in disregard of contracts by employers, just as the sympathetic strike is matched by the sympathetic lock-out.

These are extreme expedients not readily justified. They are destructive engines of war; and only a sound scheme of arbitration and conciliation can restrain them from devastating the industrial field. How many industrial enterprises have perished, how many families of workers have been cast adrift within living memory, through strikes and lock-outs, in all their ramifications, that a well-manned tribunal of peace might have prevented?

Conciliation boards, constructed on wise lines, will go far to take the place of an ideal association of workers and employers, and, though they are not likely to prevent all conflicts between them, they will obviate constantly-recurring strikes and lock-outs, to the great advantage of both classes and of the general public.

Nothing is more important for trade and for every one dependent upon it than to draw employers and workers closely together. Once that is done, it causes little trouble to arrange, for instance, as regards overtime when a structure needs to go up in a hurry, or a disabled ship calls for immediate attention in the repairing docks.

In the legitimate effort to eliminate sweaters and secure fair conditions of employment the advantage of having employment and the need to secure its continuance should never be overlooked. We want to attract shipping, trade and commerce to our shores. We need to establish suitable industries and put fresh life into those already in existence. The man who, instead of placing his money

in a bank or investing it abroad, faces the risk of putting it into a project for the development of Irish industries, deserves credit and encouragement. He takes a line that too few of our people have taken, and when he does so it behooves us, as some return to him, and for the encouragement of others, to make his risk as light as we can. The interest of every class, particularly of the workers, demands that we should attract the use of capital, not frighten it away. The full programme in the interests of labor is to have as much employment as possible and to see that its conditions are fair to the workers.

The laborer, skilled or unskilled, should have a fair chance to improve his condition. It must not be too difficult for industry, ability, thrift and character to raise him to a position equal to his worth. One splendid advantage he enjoys in this country is the opportunity to educate his family on sound Christian lines. A good primary education, as a rule, can be had within easy reach, and, fortunately, the way to the technical or secondary school, or higher still, is beginning to open for the fine boys and girls that come from the laborer's household, and who are gifted with deft fingers or bright minds. In whatever else the Irish city worker may be at a disadvantage, he is no longer behind in the opportunity to give his children the education that is best for them.

It will do good to the rising generation if our young workers reflect how they came to enjoy the wealth of this fine educational inheritance. It was the rich dower of young workers in Ireland long ago. Once more it is their heritage, largely through the self-sacrifice of men and women who had something beyond justice and equity to bestow. More than strict justice is due in equity to the toilers who do the hardest and most necessary work of

the community, sometimes at peril to their lives, living very much from hand to mouth on the earnings of employment that is not at all times available. In some such spirit as this for the public good, as also from a sense that wages were inadequate, the State in recent years has been making most praiseworthy efforts to improve the condition of its industrial population. But before social legislation made any progress our Irish workers had experience of a still higher type of service in the sacrifice of those who gave their lives without personal reward to the Christian education of the poor.

This brings us almost to the conclusion of what we have to say. If we have deemed it right to touch briefly on many sociological questions in this letter, it is not because we consider that priests and laymen in this country need be specially occupied with set addresses on the evils of Socialism or Syndicalism, or strikes, or lock-outs. These subjects cannot, indeed, be too well understood by the shepherds and guides of the people; and it is a great acquisition of strength on the side of right that they are discussed in a variety of excellent little Catholic publications that are within the reach of all, and that all may read with lasting advantage. Moreover, a warning is necessary now and then.

But our main object, while fixing attention on the nature of the dangers with which our people have recently been confronted, is to urge, in the spirit of Pius X as of Leo XIII, the sovereign importance of preventing, by fair treatment and fair trial, the evils that evoke these crude, unchristian theories, and drive men to adopt these rough methods of redress. To this end, circles for social study, debate and work are specially useful. It is eminently a case where prevention is better than cure. In-

deed, in applying a cure on any wide scale we have to go back to the ways of prevention. Accordingly, our chief concern is a full measure of proper treatment for the laboring classes, with ample encouragement to good, hard, honest work, but no encouragement to drink, idleness or inefficiency.

We have been throughout asserting the claims of justice and equity under existing industrial conditions. But as Christians we owe more to one another than the duties even of social justice, "because the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to us."

We were not made for earth but for Heaven. Only when the perishable goods of this world pass away from us for ever do we enter on our eternal possessions and begin our true life with God. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." If we have much we can call our own, the Lord gave it for our welfare and for the relief of others, in whose person He may stand asking some of it back from us. If we have little, the Saviour had less for Himself, and it is His hard-pressed fellow-laborers He invites to come to Him that He may refresh them. In Christ we are one, and earthly possessions, or the want of them, do not count. If duty calls us to practise justice, patience, consideration, forbearance towards one another, we are also bound as Christians to be charitable in thought and word and deed. Let charity, then, which is the queen of virtues and the bond of perfection, reign in our hearts. "God is charity, and he that abideth in charity abideth in God, and God in him."

# Catholics and Patriotism

By WALTER GEORGE SMITH of Philadelphia

*From an address delivered in West Chester, Pa., at a meeting called to protest against certain attacks on the loyalty of American Catholics.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This occasion is really a solemn one and, I take it, a unique one. You are assembled here in order to define your position as religious men and women towards the State and towards your community. A great and most serious misconstruction has been placed upon the tenets of the Church in which you place all your hopes of temporal and eternal happiness. So you have gathered to say in all kindness to the misguided people who have come into this quiet community to fan the embers of religious hatred, that they are seriously mistaken and to give them some few reasons for the faith that is within you.

This is the holy season of Lent. The shepherd of this flock, to whom we pay our reverence and in all religious matters pertaining to his high office our obedience, caused to be read from the altars of every church in the archdiocese, with the Regulations for Lent binding upon every Catholic, an exhortation to which you all listened and from which you will pardon me if I read an extract, because I wish it to be the keynote of what I say, as it is

the keynote, indeed, of what has been said by those who preceded me:

It is in the stress and trials of the wanton persecution and calumny wherewith the Christian name is beset in our day that the principles of the Christian profession may be proven and the strength and beauty of Christian living made manifest. If the Church and her doctrines are reviled and misrepresented by the ignorance and bigotry of her enemies, we can recall when Our Lord was reviled, He answered not, and, in the silence of Our Redeemer before the false accusers, we can understand the binding force of His commandment to "Do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you." "For if you love them that love you, what reward shall you have? Do not even the Publicans this?" "Be you, therefore, perfect, as also your Heavenly Father is perfect." This is the limit of Christian effort, and unto the fullness of this effort and its reward exceeding great do we pray God the Father of Mercies, and Our Lord Jesus Christ to bring you all.

What is the gravamen, as lawyers say? What is the substance of the indictment, to use another legal expression, that is brought against the Catholic Church, and thence by a direct and logical sequence against its members? We are told, and no doubt, seriously, by a great many people that a Catholic cannot be a loyal citizen of this Republic, nor can he be a loyal subject of any political division of mankind, kingdom or empire, because he owes a higher temporal allegiance. For there is another Sovereign, though a dethroned one, a man who now lives in one palace with a garden about it, and that has at its end the arms of the kingdom of Italy; but, nevertheless, from that Vatican palace issues decrees that nullify the oath of allegiance of any subject to his sovereign or any citizen to his republic.

Now, it is important to use chapter and verse when dealing with matters of this kind. You should not take my word for an assertion unless I can prove what I say by the authority of the Church. What does the Church



say upon this subject? In 1789, when William Pitt was Prime Minister of England, the same charge was made against the Irish people as is made against American Catholics to-day, namely, that they owed a separate allegiance to the Pope higher than that which they owed to the State; and so it was resolved by Mr. Pitt to test the question and get an authoritative answer. This circular was sent out at his request by the Catholics of London in 1789:

1. Has the Pope, or Cardinal, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or preëminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the Pope, or Cardinal, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

These questions were first submitted to the Catholic Universities of Europe and were answered in the negative. In substance they were then asked of Pope Pius VII himself, and here is the answer that Cardinal Antonelli gave in the name of his Holiness:

We perceive from your late letter the great uneasiness you labor under since the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The Present State of the Church of Ireland," from which our detractors have taken occasion to renew the calumny against the Catholic religion with increased acrimony, namely: "That this religion is, by no means, compatible with the safety of kings and princes, . . ." The See of Rome never taught that faith was not to be kept with the heterodox; that an oath to kings separated from the Catholic communion can be violated; that it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We, too, consider an attempt or design against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime. At the very commencement of the yet infant Church, blessed Peter, Prince of

the Apostles, instructing the faithful, exhorted them in these words: "Be ye subject to every human creature, for God's sake, whether it be to the king as excelling, or whether it be to governors sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of the good: For so is the will of God, that by doing well you may silence the ignorance of foolish men."

"But Pope Pius IX," it will be said, "differs from Pope Pius VII. Look at the former's syllabus on Papal Infallibility!" Infallibility! As a man the Pope is no more infallible than you or I. The Pope is infallible only when he teaches the Church *ex cathedra*, that is to say, when in the exercise of his office as Head of the Church, Chief Pastor and Teacher of all the faithful, and as the successor of St. Peter, he declares what is to be held by the Universal Church as the true doctrine on any matter of faith or morals. The Pope's infallibility does not, of course, depend on his virtue or learning, but on the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, given him according to the promise of Christ, who said to St. Peter, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not. And thou being once converted confirm thy brethren." In spiritual things, therefore, we Catholics obey the Pope, in temporal things, our lawful civil superiors. We render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's.

The next charge, as I understand it, that has been formulated against the Catholic Church, is that it has deliberately conspired to prevent the education of the masses of the American people; that it wants to destroy "the little red school house" at the cross-roads; that it aims to make the people return to the state of ignorance in which it has always endeavored to keep them, because knowledge that spreads by the clear, open-eyed investigation of the problems of life is foreign to the spirit of

Catholicity. Consequently, our children must be deprived of the education which is their birthright, and the hierarchy of the Church are deliberately preparing to ruin the educational system of the United States.

Very far from that being the case, the Church has always been the mother of education. Every principle of human liberty, everything that leads to a proper and scientific investigation has been nourished in the bosom of the Church. You have been asked in a comparatively new country, with all the burdens that you have to bear, to take upon your shoulders the additional burden of educating your children. You are educating them by the tens of thousands, and you are able to do it because so many men and women have given themselves up to God's service, turning their backs on all those things that most people think desirable, the charities of home and fireside. They devote themselves to the work without any fee, or any human reward.

"Why do you not send your children to the schools of the State?" we are asked. "You pay taxes for the schools of the State. Then why not send your children there?" Dear friends, the reason why we do not send our children there is because the spirit of our religion teaches us that our first duty is to Almighty God, that we must instill into the minds of our children the principles of faith, that this world is only a preparation for another; that it profits a man nothing to gain the whole world, if he lose his own soul. As we know, there are two tendencies in our nature, the spiritual and the material. So we want to train our children to be masters of their passions, to be masters of themselves, to keep their lower nature under, and the only way this can be done is by teaching them a religion that has a supernatural sanction, which

has come down by revelation from God. No beautiful theory of teaching, no mere "social service" can conquer the earthy tendency of our nature, nothing can do it but the love and fear of God, our Creator. That is the reason we do not send our children to the public schools.

"But, do you mean to say that the teachers of these schools are immoral? That they do not teach the children? That they teach them wickedness?" By no means. The teachers in our public schools are practical, good, self-devoted men and women and we respect and admire them. But, of course, they are not permitted to teach religion. Here is a man who would have his child taught materialism. Here is a child who is a Jew. Here is a child whose parents profess some form of ethical culture, and here is one who has been reared in Protestantism. If they all go to one school, what religion can be taught them? Accordingly, the Bishops of the United States have called upon the Catholic people and the Catholic people have responded. In every parish where it is possible, religious are teaching the Catholic children the principles of religion, and at the same time those things that contribute to success in the secular community.

Ladies and gentlemen, I admit that this is all contrary to the spirit of our age. For the spirit of the age is materialistic. The spirit of the age makes material success its sole standard. We want great fortunes, we want fine houses, and we want an easy life. That is not the spirit of religion. Those things are all well enough when properly used, but unless we are on our guard they undermine faith, they undermine spiritual strength. So the child that is taught to accept in the proper spirit the sufferings and trials that come to him, and not to take, as we are taught in these modern days, the line of

least resistance, will grow up a patriot. The history of all nations shows it. Moreover, it is recognized by many non-Catholics that among the 90,000,000 inhabitants of this country, of whom not one-half are professing Christians, there are 16,000,000 who keep alive an earnest, active faith in the supernatural and make it their standard, who know that the secret of self-conquest is endurance, and strength of character is formed by suffering and not by going along "the primrose path of dalliance."

"But the Church," it is charged, "is interfering with our domestic relations to such an extent that she will not recognize marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics." The Church teaches that marriage is a sacrament, and declares that once a marriage has been legally contracted, nothing can put an end to it but death. As marriage is such a solemn thing, such an important thing, and as it has a sort of tragedy about it, for everything that is final is tragic, the Church declares that marriage must be entered into with the greatest deliberation and in the presence of witnesses. The Church does not say that people outside of her communion may not be married as they choose. It makes laws only for the government of Catholics. Catholics disobeying these laws disobey the Church, and if they persist in their sin they separate themselves from the Church. This is a matter of peculiarly private concern to the Catholic Church, just as the laws of any other Church are for the peculiarly private concern of its own members. The State recognizes certain incidents of marriage, such as the rights of property. The Church has nothing to do with that. The Church does not attempt to legislate about that. The Church rules a spiritual kingdom.

"But you Catholics," it is charged, "are a clannish

people in the community and in politics. You have a secret understanding among yourselves. It is not a wholesome thing that you should increase and multiply." Ladies and gentlemen, there was a great contest in New York over the mayoralty some time ago, and the two most prominent candidates were Catholics. One of these Catholics defeated the other. It was a very warm campaign, but after it was over the defeated candidate presided at a dinner given to the successful candidate. Now it might be said, that they were not really opposing each other, that there was an understanding. I do not envy the man whose intelligence is so blinded by bigotry that he can harbor that thought. I think there was evidence of opposition in political matters and agreement in spiritual.

Abraham Lincoln said, you remember: "Our fathers brought forth on this continent a nation conceived in liberty, dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." That did not mean that our fathers had brought forth on this continent a nation dedicated to the proposition that the Puritans of New England were the only people that should have religious freedom, nor the Episcopalians of Virginia, nor the Methodists of Ohio, nor the Baptists of New York, nor the Quakers of Chester County, but all citizens. It is our peculiar glory, as citizens of Pennsylvania, that the founder of our Commonwealth in the age when few understood the doctrine of tolerance, upheld religious freedom. William Penn not only taught the doctrine of toleration, but that religion should be encouraged. It was a pleasure to him to see a Catholic chapel opened in Philadelphia, and the bigots of that day reproached him with permitting Catholicism to be practiced there. This is a nation, as Lin-

coln said, that was conceived in liberty, but there were only two of our colonies where religious freedom was granted and one was that of the Catholics of Maryland, and the other that of the Quakers of Pennsylvania.

The ways of God, it often happens, are too mysterious for us to fathom. Sometimes, however, we can see how He brings good out of evil, ordering all things wonderfully. In 1848 when famine stalked through Ireland, and people lay with their stricken faces turned towards the hillsides, starving to death, many of that afflicted race turned to this land of promise. We had already a large population here, for there had been a steady stream of emigration from the old countries prior and subsequent to the Revolution. But, in 1848, in order to live, the Irish people came to this country and Canada in large numbers. That is only two generations ago. A little while before when the zealous Prince Gallitzin founded his mission in Cambria County, there was not a church between Lancaster and Pittsburg. I do not know what the statistics show, but I do know that the Irish people, men and women, carried the faith from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The first thing that greets your eye as you come in from Puget Sound to the great city of Seattle is the Catholic Cathedral, and the first thing that you see in the little hamlet in the coal regions is the gilt cross over the humble church. Let me read to you what a gallant soldier, Sir William Butler, wrote about the mission of the Irish people:

The new world lay waiting for the light. It came, borne by the hands of Ireland's starving children. The old man tottered with the precious burden by the fever-stricken ship; the young child carried the light in feeble hands to the shore; the strong man bore it to the Western prairies and into the cañons of the snowy Sierras; the maiden brought it into the homestead, to be a future dower to her husband, and a legacy to her children; and

lo! ere famine's night had passed from Ireland, the Church of Patrick arose o'er all that vast new world of America, from where the great St. Lawrence pours its crystal tide into the daybreak of the Atlantic to where California flings her Golden Gate into the sunsets of the Pacific. . . . Glorious indeed must be the muster answering from the tombs of fourteen centuries to the summons of the Apostle of the Gaels; nor scarce less glorious his triumph when the edge of sunrise rolling around this living earth reveals on all the ocean isles and distant continents the myriad scattered children of the Apostle, whose voices answering that sunrise call re-echo in endless accents along the vaults to Heaven.

That is what the history of the Catholic Church includes. We are men and women and we have sinned, we have fallen short time and time again of the ideal. We never can attain it. We can only struggle for it and struggle always for it. But, what should we do if we had no ideal? Where should we be in this vale of tears, if we had not the Church to teach us to control our lower nature and be true to our fellow-men? Can such teaching be considered by any fair-minded man a danger to the Republic or a peril to our fellow-citizens? Can our humble clergy, men vowed to chastity, men bound to obey their superiors, men who have to give their first thought always to the souls of their parishioners, can they be justly accused of disloyalty to the commonwealth? In conflagrations in the city, in railroad accidents, who is the first on the spot? The Catholic priest. What is the attitude of the Catholic toward his neighbors? Has he wronged them? Often he has. But when he wishes to be reconciled to his Church, his confessor tells him that by a higher law than every other law, the law of justice, a wrong done the neighbor must be repaired. That is the teaching of the Catholic Church.

My friends, it is for us to glory in the faith that we have the good fortune to possess. But it did not come to



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us on our merits. We did not get it by a long process of reasoning, or in the exercise of learning. We needed it and God gave it to us in answer to our prayers. It is His gift. So the first lesson we should learn is humility, and this meeting has been called, not in any proud spirit, and not in any hostile spirit, but to make known to this community as far as we can as laymen, some of the reasons why, instead of being doubted and mistrusted and feared, Catholics should be encouraged and believed in, for wherever a Catholic church is built, there are good works, there is humanity, there is patriotism, there is kept burning a strong faith in God, the beacon light that guides the world to the only rock of safety in the modern deluge of materialism.



## The Indispensability of the Ascetic Ideal

By DR. F. W. FOERSTER

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["The Indispensability of the Ascetic Ideal" is perhaps the best chapter in Dr. Foerster's book on "Marriage and the Sex-Problem," a remarkable work published in English some two years ago by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, of New York, through whose courtesy we are now permitted to reprint the chapter. Dr. Foerster is not a Catholic. He began, indeed, as a fiery Socialist, even going to prison for "the cause." "Totally uninfluenced by any religious training or by any atmosphere of belief," writes Meyrich Booth, his translator, "but following only the *inner necessities* of his own social and educational work, Foerster drew nearer and nearer to Christianity, until, after a still further development, he became convinced that the Christian religion was the sole foundation for both social and individual life."

The ethical and pedagogical foundations, however, on which his excellent work is based are thoroughly Catholic. As a reviewer of Dr. Foerster's book remarked in *America* for December 28, 1912:

The tone of his work may be gathered from the two fundamental principles he lays down regarding the unpleasant subject he discusses. These are, first: The foundation of all sound education in the matters in question must consist in *distracting* the mind from them, not in directing it towards them; and second: The problem of moral preservation is a question of *power* far more than of *knowledge*. From these two principles, unassailable from the Christian standpoint, he draws the conclusion that the young must be saved by high ideals of duty, and by being

taught to subdue their appetites even in things apparently trivial; not by making them familiar with evil. He makes no secret of his opinion that most of the new theorizing on the subject is so much filth.

If our Christian civilization is to be preserved, no thoughtful person should fail to see that the ascetical ideals which Dr. Foerster describes and eulogizes in the following pages must be held up like torches to guide and enkindle the hearts of the present generation. For as he himself writes:

In literature, in the drama, in the comic papers, and in the fashionable world, the "seamy side of life" is becoming daily less shocking and more popular. Moral sin and failure serve to provide material for a heroic pose, while the ten weaknesses of man have become the ten commandments of the "new ethic." A pleasure-seeking individualism is becoming the commanding principle of practical conduct.

For this lamentable state of public morals, the only effective remedy is to make men realize "The Indispensability of the Ascetic Ideal," and the necessity of bringing that conviction to bear on their lives.—THE EDITOR OF CATHOLIC MIND.]

To secure the mastery of man's higher self over the whole world of animal desire is a task which demands a more systematic development of will-power and the cultivation of a deeper faith in the spiritual destiny of humanity than are to be found in the superficial intellectualistic civilization of to-day. To achieve such a result it will be necessary not only to have recourse to new methods and new ideals, but to make sure that we do not allow what is valuable and in any way worthy of imitation, in the old, to be forgotten. The ascetic principle, in particular, is to-day in danger of being undervalued.

*Asceticism should be regarded, not as a negation of nature nor as an attempt to extirpate natural forces, but*

*as practice in the art of self-discipline.* Its object should be to show humanity what the human will is capable of performing, to serve as an encouraging example of the conquest of the spirit over the animal self. The contempt which has been poured upon the idea of asceticism in recent times has contributed more than anything else towards effeminacy. Nothing could be more effective in bringing humanity back to the best traditions of manhood than a respect for the spiritual strength and conquest which is symbolized in ascetic lives.

It may well be true that in the history of asceticism there have been absurdities and abuses. But this must not blind us to the eternal value of complete self-conquest in the task of attaining true inner freedom. The orgies of the French Revolution do not discredit the principle of political freedom. Neither should the occasional excesses of individuals, or even the degenerate condition of whole epochs, prevent us from appreciating the educational value of the ascetic principle and the inspiration and encouragement which come from contemplating the lives of the great saints.

In this chapter I propose to deal with the *social and psychological value* of the ascetic ideal. By the ascetic ideal is meant that view of life which does not simply regard self-conquest as a stage in self-development, but which assigns a definite and essential function in the evolution of humanity to men and women who shall demonstrate, in one sphere or another, the possibility of living a life of continual and complete abnegation—not in order to make a more natural life appear contemptible, but with the express purpose of enriching life and preserving it from degeneration by means of heroic examples of spiritual power. Properly to understand the sig-

nificance of asceticism, it should be remembered that natural life does not flourish unless the spirit retains the upper hand; and since we are surrounded for the most part by striking examples of lives in which the spirit plays anything but a leading part, it is in the highest degree desirable that living and striking examples of men and women who have fully freed themselves from the distraction of the world and the domination of natural desires should be continually before our eyes. The vast majority of modern men will see nothing but matter for laughter in such an ideal as this. Even earnest and spiritually-minded people regard it as an obsolete and erroneous view, which must soon give place to a more harmonious conception of life. I am, however, profoundly convinced that this attitude is the product of a shallow understanding of actual human nature. Ignorance of the awful dangers latent in our weak nature is very commonly to be met with in epochs still powerfully influenced by great traditions of moral discipline. Those born in such periods are apt to be lacking in personal acquaintance with the darker side of human nature, owing to the very state of discipline into which their fellow-citizens have been brought. Hence they fail to realize what a laborious taming of passion has preceded the comparative security they find around them. Time will soon give us a demonstration on a large scale of what men can be like when undisciplined.

In the sphere of sex a rapid disintegration of character is already going on. The effect of the increasing laxity in this direction will make itself felt in other directions. A disrespect for definite moral standards in this region will tend to initiate a spirit of license in every other department of social and moral life. It is astounding with

what rapidity all moral convictions are to-day breaking down in the minds of vast masses of the people. This would not occur if the deepest foundations of these convictions had not been long undermined. The suggestive force of tradition continues to be operative in an age which has largely abandoned the positive belief lying behind the tradition, and this deceives us as to the real extent of the disintegration. The first vigorous push shows us how far the process of undermining has gone.

Without most people being conscious of the fact, one of the main foundation-stones of our traditional moral culture has been the constant presence in our midst of great personalities illustrating in their own lives the highest possible degree of spiritual freedom, the complete conquest of the spirit over the world and the senses. The presence in society of such spiritually dedicated characters is a source of psychic inspiration for the whole community, and a constant and courageous protest against the smug Philistinism of the men of the world. The true building up of moral ideas and the chief stimulus towards their fulfilment come from the embodiment of the spiritual life in its most perfect form in heroic human life, and not from any kind of merely intellectual demonstration.

A belief in the spiritual destiny of man—no mere dream, but a belief confirmed and strengthened by the lives of great spiritual geniuses—is the first necessity in arousing and developing a spiritual conscience in the human race, a sense of the bounden duty of resisting the lower self. Unless this feeling has been brought into being, morality itself has no deep soil in which to take root. There could be no greater aid to its creation than the spectacle of men who can pursue spiritual things

with a more powerful passion than that with which men of the world follow after gold, fame, and women.

These ultimate inspirations of all great self-mastery may be hidden from consciousness for generations; they nevertheless continue to perform their work and to supply the higher aspirations with their final authority and reality. But one day the world of sensuous impulses will again raise itself in opposition to the dominion of the spirit, and a fresh sophistry will undermine the last foundations of spiritual dignity; then humanity will again discover the real bases of civilization and realize the impotence of all moral culture (in the absence of these inspirations) over against the influence of more tangible things. These spiritual factors grow more and more indispensable the greater becomes the disturbing influence of outer things, and the more the uniting communal nature of man gives way to individual instincts, feelings, interests and fancies, which carry in themselves no fixed norm.

It is from this point of view that we should consider the charge of retirement from the world and opposition to nature, which has always been brought against the ascetic ideal of life by those who regard it as a fruitless and weakening error. Every moral action is in a certain sense a resistance to nature and an overcoming of the world, and therefore needs the suggestive influence of elevated and perfect examples of self-mastery, in order, through a connection with such tangible embodiments of the spiritual life, to be equal to the power of the outer world, and the task of retaining faith in the right and possibility of resistance to mere nature.

There is an Indian saying: "Humanity waits upon the sacrifice of those who overcome the world, as the



hungry young birds wait upon their mother." This is a very drastic expression of the manner in which the world depends upon those who can rise superior to it; it gives voice to the intense desire for spiritual strength on the part of those who are occupied with the tragedies and difficulties of their own lives—a desire which can be satisfied only by those who have attained to complete freedom. It is an eternal fact that humanity continually scorns and rejects the high, and yet at the same time dimly realizes that it cannot master its own life without the illumination and power coming from thence. Therefore the demonstration of a complete overcoming of the world is in no sense an attack upon life—rather is it a contribution towards life. In the face of the immense suggestive power of wealth, of ambition, and of every kind of sensuous temptation, humanity cannot dispense with the counteracting suggestion of a life which has made itself absolutely independent of all these things.

As is well known, it was the Franciscan movement which gave rise to the so-called Third Order: the members of this order were permitted to live in the world, to carry on business and to marry; but they were required at the same time, through specific vows, to honor the saints to whom their order was dedicated, and they were enjoined throughout their economic and family life never to lose sight of the spiritual destiny of man. This Third Order symbolizes the influence of the ascetic ideal upon real life; it shows the manner in which this ideal provides our earthly existence with an access of power—not the least of its services being the strengthening of the individual spirit against the confused world of human instincts and feelings.

From this point of view the saints are of imperishable

importance in the world of education. They illuminate and demonstrate the teaching of Christ in many and varied directions, at the same time linking it up with human life. In order to avoid every misunderstanding, I must make it clear that I do not ask Protestant ministers or teachers simply to take over Catholic doctrines, customs, or institutions. They cannot, however, afford to neglect the *psychology and pedagogy* which lie behind the Catholic system; these must be thoroughly understood and valued, in order that the broader view of life which thus results should give rise to something of a corresponding nature within the framework of the Protestant tradition. With regard to the question of asceticism, I should not expect Protestants to undertake the worship of the saints, but they might well make the heroic lives and achievements of those men and women, who dedicated themselves to the Church, fruitful for Christian worship and for the development of will and character. Indeed we are driven in this direction by the simplest fundamental truth of all moral education—the *decisive importance of example*. "Thou shalt" is indeed great and important: but not less important is the "Thou canst," which is forced upon us by a mighty and consistent example. It is indeed true that we need in the first place the perfect example of Christ Himself, in which the higher is revealed in its entire purity; but in another sense we need also the encouragement of personalities more closely related to our weakness and error, and who have nevertheless attained to inner freedom in so impressive a manner. That the human soul should never be without a secret desire for absolute perfection bears witness to the divine light within us: even in a mistaken character, such as Nietzsche, this desire clam-

ored for expression, and created the idea of the superman as a protest against a deadening materialism and a cheap and leveling education. This desire is enormously stimulated by the heroic consistency with which these great Christians worked out its possibilities, if one may use such an expression, and made into a complete whole all that which remains so weak and incomplete in our own Christian life. From the immense earnestness and decision of such heroes there radiates a suggestive influence of incomparable power, strengthening the shifting will of the ordinary man. On this point Hilty justly remarks:

From a fear of the "excesses" of the Catholic Church at the time of the Reformation, we have rejected the veneration of the saints, and in this manner have lost a powerful stimulus for good; for men learn more willingly and more easily from examples than from sermons. . . . But a time is coming in which the true saints of the Catholic Church will be better known to us than has been the case in the past.

From the fact that recent Protestant writers, like Sabatier and Thode, have devoted much thorough study to the life of St. Francis of Assisi, we may perceive that the period of mere neglect has come to an end. The Church of England has always attached a high value to the lives of the saints, both for sermons and for educational purposes, and has drawn no small inspiration from this source; it has recently paid peculiar attention to the legends of St. Francis, and has issued good editions of these works for its priests and educators. What reason is there, indeed, why our youth should be brought up upon legends and biographies from the antique world? Why should they be intimately acquainted with the deeds of Hercules, and yet be practically ignorant of the life of St. Francis or of St. Vincent de Paul, who stands incomparably nearer to our social and spiritual needs?

A modern philosopher, H. von Stein, whose too early death was so deplorable, has drawn attention in his later works to the imperishable significance of the lives of the saints. Attracted to their study through Schopenhauer, he discovered behind every negation their mighty positive element, their gift to the world and to those who live and struggle in it: "In the highest and noblest," he says, "our experience is unfortunately confined to what is limited and inadequate . . . they, however, experienced in themselves the absolute, and life is nothing when one has not in some fashion or another acquired this experience."

All such thoughts as these have to-day sunk into the background. In the last few centuries mankind has increasingly occupied itself with the question of external freedom, and the personalities of the saints have largely passed into oblivion; but they will again come into the forefront of our consciousness when the most important of all the problems of freedom has again become a central question: "How shall I become free from myself?" This question may from time to time be drowned through the clash of outward interests, but just as the great pyramid of Cheops always majestically reappears, even if it be temporarily veiled by the sandstorms of the desert, so, too, this great question of inner freedom will ever again raise its head above the dust and storm of daily existence, leading man back from all external things to the great problems of his own nature.

But is it not a fact that the lives of the saints abound in exaggerations and eccentricity? What would become of humanity if such types were raised to be authoritative ideals of life? We are quite prepared to admit that there is here much exaggeration and eccentricity, as indeed

there is in the lives of all men of genius. But why should one prefer to allow the genius almost any moral laxity rather than an exaggerated attempt at securing spiritual power? Doubtless because in the first case we are encouraged in our own inadequacy, whereas in the latter the distressing gap between his intense spiritual endeavor and our easy-going lives becomes painfully evident! Moreover, the majority of men are restricted to normal conditions of life, and are able to develop their powers within these limits only. The genius of self-discipline, the saint, does not despise these conditions, nay, he may himself temporarily or wholly exist within them—like St. Louis of France or St. Elizabeth—but in any case he attains to a superhuman inner freedom which cannot be imitated by any and everyone, but which even for the ordinary man remains an inexhaustible source of encouragement and a species of outer conscience. Rather than venture to call all that eccentric, or even morbid, which goes beyond our own moral power and does not fit within our scheme of life, we should rather acknowledge that throughout the whole of life the visible rests upon the invisible, the ordinary upon the extraordinary, and that we ourselves, in all our customs, our affections and our freedom, are reaping the benefit of these great spiritual conquests over the sensuous world.

It should never be forgotten that behind the purest and sweetest gifts of Nature there often lie the greatest dangers for the character of man—so soon, namely, as we become the slaves of these gifts instead of maintaining our freedom with regard to them. In family life, for example, there certainly lies a source of the finest human feeling; but this is not unaccompanied by the danger of family egoism and of the destruction of all higher *caritas*

and all higher spiritual endeavor. Therefore there should be gifted personalities who know how to sacrifice not only the ugliest but even the most beautiful things in life—not in order to embitter earthly things for man, but in order to liberate them from the dangers of misuse, exaggeration, and overvaluation, which lie ready in man's nature. Of the great followers of Christ it may be said that they, too, take the guilt of the world upon themselves; they sacrifice so much because the others are able to sacrifice so little.

The spirit which animated the great saints was one of pure devotion to God. With the penetrating gaze of the purified soul, they saw that a family life not based upon anything higher than earthly love may be no more than a species of extended self-interest; they perceived that blunting of all higher needs which so often accompanies the mere worship of motherhood, that naïve self-expansion and self-reflection in the offspring, that character-destroying exaggeration of outward care, that growing indifference to everything except the welfare of one's own circle, that idolatrous cult of the work of human propagation, without any true and consistent worship of God. They knew, too, that children thus loved and thus brought up, in spite of all outer baptism, would never possess the true baptism: they are reared in the flesh and not in the spirit, and therefore they will be ruled by the flesh and not by the higher life of the spirit. Thus the separation of St. Elizabeth from her children, for example, was an extraordinary step; but it was the heroic action of a soul wholly devoted to God, who, through such an example, and in the face of the one-sided worship of family life and children, aiming at *pointing out those high goals, in the absence of which family life itself*

*lacks its commanding ideals and the true care of the soul is neglected.* For nothing allows children so to degenerate, and so shuts them out from all higher life, as the fact of being trained in an atmosphere of family egoism, and being brought up by a mother who knows nothing higher than her own offspring. And nothing educates and preserves the children so effectually as the example of a mother who shines with the inspiration of a higher love than that of the natural maternal instincts. Such rare examples of a completely self-forgetful approach to heavenly love, far removed from attacking or lowering human family life, act continually as a wonderful source of sacrificial strength and spiritual dignity, in this way enriching all earthly bonds. Characters like St. Elizabeth, even though, in their enthusiastic devotion to their Saviour, they burst the limits of ordinary family life, are *the protecting spirits of the family*; they bring into domestic life a *deeper loyalty*, a *more self-sacrificing devotion*, and a *more spiritual care*, and protect it from the connection with lower instincts, and thus from disintegration.

What has just been said with regard to the ascetic view of life in general must apply also to our valuation of the religious orders. In the lower Franciscan church in Assisi, we see a representation of the threefold sacrifice, poverty, chastity, and obedience, with which Christian asceticism opposes the strongest passions of humanity. These three sacrifices give those living in the world and struggling with the desire for material gain, with sensuality and with personal ambition, a continual reminder of their spiritual origin and a continual assistance against the over-valuation of external things. The earnestness and reality of the spiritual world is strengthened, in an altogether indispensable fashion, by the fact

that there are and have been men who voluntarily denied themselves all these things, devoting themselves entirely to spiritual contemplation or Christian charity. And in face of the extraordinary tangibility of outward claims and temptations, what could be more necessary than such a strengthening? In the case of the energetic races of the Western World, occupied as they are so largely with outward and politico-economic activities, such an opposition—on the part of a whole class—to the over-valuation of material things is of the most imperative importance—not least for the health and true productivity of our worldly civilization itself. What is all *laborare* without the right *orare*; whither leads all creation without self-knowledge and self-recollection and uninspired by those high aims which first enable us to distinguish between primary and secondary things in life, nay, which first enable our whole work to acquire a deeper meaning? "We need seers and doers," a great American capitalist once said—the true seer, however, indispensably requires such a radical liberation from the goods and illusions of the world and from the turmoil of secular activity, and the ideal of such a liberation (in spite of all "progressive" blindness) will never perish, but will always acquire new strength from the necessities of our social life itself. A modern free-thinking criminalist, who stands entirely on the basis of scientific materialism, has very justly observed:

"Only a view of the matter which overlooked the realities of human nature itself, and was blind both to historical and philosophical considerations, could fail to recognize the importance and justification of the religious orders from the point of view of human culture itself." He does not doubt in the least that such retreats as these should play a very important rôle in the regeneration of weak and erring humanity, and in general in the liberation of the soul from the darkness of the past. So that



even outside the Ancient Church itself there is again a feeling that it will be necessary to come back to these fundamental ideas and give them a new form. He says, for example:

Even in the oldest Oriental philosophy we see this spiritual instinct on the part of man, causing him to withdraw from the world and often from the corruption of society in order to seek protection against evil and temptation in solitude or in intercourse with similar souls, and, through a life of contemplation and asceticism, gradually to withdraw himself from the demands of the senses. . . . Not less ancient and universal is the conviction, which has become a regular dogma throughout the Eastern World, that one can best reconcile oneself with the Divine Power through such a retired existence devoted to spiritual elevation. . . . In the Nazarenes the Jews, too, possessed such a body of men, to whom Moses had already granted specific rights. There were also the flourishing Hebrew sects of the Essenes and the Therapeuteans, who were contemporaneous with Christ in Palestine and Egypt, and devoted themselves to a life of monastic piety.

In the structure of our book as a whole, these indications of the pedagogical value of the ascetic ideal and of the religious orders are of peculiar importance. Here we may perceive with the greatest clearness the relationship between such a retirement from the world and the needs of secular life itself. We shall thus be able to realize that in the future all these institutions will experience a development and fructification on a grand scale; the more the one-sided cultivation of merely worldly activity breaks down the nervous and psychic force of civilized man and coarsens his moral nature, and the more the increasing cult of the Ego destroys the capacity for true self-denial, the more their indispensability will be recognized.(1)

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(1) In the nursing profession, too, the Orders with their vows are indispensable. The lack of power exhibited by the Protestant diaconal system [in Germany], as well as on the part of the secular nursing sisters, shows clearly that the supply of spiritual force has been inadequate to the very difficult demands of this kind of work. Hence it frequently occurs that doctors of great experience give the preference to Catholic sisters. There are, of course, numbers of self-sacrificing characters outside the Orders. But the Orders understand how to inspire *mediocre* characters,

The full and permanent resignation of that which for the majority of men alone makes life desirable, has a power of attraction only for the rarest natures, and for

and to educate them in a magnificent fashion to an almost super-human degree of self-sacrifice. And the main reason for this superiority on the part of the Catholic sisters is the vow of voluntary celibacy: in the first place, it puts the nurses in quite a different position with regard to the patients and doctors; they cease, indeed, to be women, and become sisters; and, moreover, they have put away the idea of leading lives of their own outside the hospital. This gives them a wholeness, dignity, and sacredness which they would not otherwise be able to acquire. Here, again, we perceive the deep relationship between social service and the ascetic ideal—the close connection between the capacity for the greatest sacrifice, and a form of retirement from the world; we see that only those who have left the “natural man” entirely behind are able to do the best work in many spheres of life.

There are a great many men and women who entirely fail to realise the need for such ascetic examples, because their view of life is not sufficiently realistic to enable them to grasp the actual needs of our human life. Dostojewski once said: “He who does not understand the monk, does not understand the world.” It is frequently asked to-day: “Is it not more useful to live in the midst of the world rather than withdraw from its keenest attractions and temptations and make vows of solitude?” But this question is quite irrelevant when we look upon these ascetic figures as *object lessons in spiritual earnestness*, and thus essential to our social and educational work. Certainly it is more difficult to remain quite pure and free in the midst of the world—and this was achieved only by a very few of the greatest saints. The Orders, however, assist men of a more ordinary stamp to attain to this condition of inner peace and of freedom from the fever of needs and passions, a state of mind which they would not achieve if they lived in the world, and one which is not achieved by those who, in the midst of comfortable worldly circumstances, contemplate with superiority this world of discipline and obedience, and feel themselves to be more developed and more useful personalities. There can be no manner of doubt that there are highly developed men and women worthy of the greatest honor who live exemplary lives in commerce, family relationships, and secular activities in general, in the midst of great conflicts and temptations; but along with their burdens and duties they also enjoy all the alleviations and satisfactions which accompany the cares and disappointments of secular life. We must on no account deceive ourselves as to this. Let one but approach these people with the veil or the monk's vow, and they would draw back in horror.

this very reason the ascetic type will never lose its honorable position among the people, but will be newly produced and newly honored in every age: and it is not the most enlightened but the darkest ages of history in which men so forget their own deeply hidden yearning for spiritual freedom and the torment of their actual lack of freedom that they fail to recognize those who overcome the world as social assets of the first rank. Degeneration and abuse of all kinds naturally await all institutions and ideals when they are translated into life, and the highest thoughts and customs will be the most liable to such misuse since they are the furthest removed from the ordinary level of human life. How can it be attempted to refute the institutions of religion, which are indeed the answer to the fundamental weaknesses of human nature, through a reference to abuses which are after all only a new proof of this weakness itself? What would the champions of democracy say if one met the ideal of self-government with a reference to the political corruption of the United States? The radicalism and individualism of our age has not the faintest idea how deeply all the victories of personal freedom over the omnipotence of the State, of the so-called "rights of man," are linked up with this much-scorned retirement from the world, which has brought personality to its highest concentration and raised spiritual life above all other aims. It was doubtless the fervor and intensity with which whole groups of individuals left domestic and social life, in order to come entirely to themselves, which first made men conscious, in the most impressive manner, that man has a right to himself—that there is a holiness of inner life and effort, in which society and the State have no right to interfere. Moreover, the right and dignity of the woman, apart

from her mere valuation as a sexual being, is closely related to the existence and honorable recognition of bodies of women dedicated to God, in which human personality found a safe refuge from the world and all its merely utilitarian aims. Thus these ascetic institutions, on closer study, reveal themselves as a most powerful support for everything which one may call *character*, and a pillar of that great and true resistance to all that is merely tangible and useful, upon which, ultimately, everything depends which makes life worth living and lends men real power over material things.

Very interesting from this point of view are the conclusions drawn by Frau Gnauck-Kühne in her penetrating book "Die deutsche Frau." The authoress here shows us that the deeper problems associated with the woman question cannot be solved without the help of the ideal of the Order, and she shows what a deep understanding of the heart of this question has been acquired by the Catholic Orders through the experience of centuries. One must not leave out of account, she says, that the modern tendencies within the woman's movement which aim at a breaking down of strict monogamy have their origin to no small extent in the fact that it is exceptional for a woman to feel her whole nature satisfied by any mere profession, and that the mere cult of her individuality leaves her deep desire for concrete human devotion and companionship unsatisfied. Thus, for those women who do not marry and who have no family circle, there remains only the following alternative: either one allows them that fulfilment of those natural and psychic needs which the merely professional life does not satisfy, through free love relationships (a tendency represented, for example, by those modern reformers who proclaim

"the right of motherhood"), or one creates for them, along some other line, the social life, the fulfilment of maternal instincts, and the concrete human work, which they do not find in their abstract professional work. The latter is done, however, in the best and most definite manner by the Orders, with their close social life, their manifold tasks of love, and their work of personal education. At the same time, through their rules, their self-elected authority, and their religious self-discipline, these institutions best meet the great difficulties which follow upon the lasting communal life of women, when the individuals are without higher order and the calming influence of a dedicated life. And finally, it is these institutions alone which, by virtue of the solemn dignity which they assign to the virgin state, overcome the customary disparagement of the "old maid." This disparagement rests upon the idea that the one decisive question in a woman's life is whether or not she finds favor in the eyes of a man. Frau Gnauck-Kühne regards this view as the foundation of all feminine inferiority and lack of freedom, and observes with justice:

There can be no question of a choice between two courses, unless the condition of virginity offers the possibility of a life fully as happy and fully as valuable as that of the married woman. This choice is given by the Women's Orders, which, in the shape of a celibate life dedicated to God, provide an earthly existence which in happiness and value yields nothing to the married state. . . . There are two paths open to a woman: the path without a man and the path with a man. Of these two possibilities, the nuns are an example of the first, of the life without the man. Upon the summit of the other path, the life with the man, stands the happy mother. . . . From both these summits, and with an understanding for spiritual necessity, the right way must be sought by which to approach the solitary women in the world, the brave women workers of all classes. The matrons will have no difficulty in getting into touch with such women workers. The convents can become centres for whole classes of women workers, places of refuge, which release their charges in the

morning and receive them again in the evening; they can be developed as institutions for mutual assistance and social work.

Frau Gnauck-Kühne is hence right when she asserts that for the *real* solution of this problem there is no alternative to the course which she suggests. This brings us around to a point of view to which we have already called attention: the development of our civilization is leading us to perceive, with more and more clearness, that the basis upon which our modern society has built its moral and spiritual structure are absolutely inadequate. Many deep needs, serious temptations, and severe conflicts have been entirely neglected. In every direction forces have been liberated and needs have been exposed or created—but there has been no corresponding provision of spiritual education, care, and leadership. The modern moralists, who wax so indignant over the “new ethic,” should be mindful of the fact that it is very easy, on paper, to call whole classes of people to self-denial, but that one cannot reckon upon obedience and any enduring joy in life, if at the same time one deprives such people of their faith in another world, with its illuminating reminder of man’s higher destiny, *and if at the same time one provides no spiritual equivalent for the painful vacuity which the non-fulfilment of natural instincts always leaves in the minds and hearts of the majority of women.* When a higher view of life is lacking, it must always seem a cruel accident that a particular individual should be deprived of the satisfaction of marriage—and this individual is expected, merely for the sake of “ethics,” to bow to this accident for a lifetime, while at the same time all the voluble culture of our age and all the ideals of everyday citizenship are unable to offer him or her anything which really satisfies the heart in the place

of what has been missed. The authoress of the book to which we refer is undoubtedly right when she says that the increasing concentration of the modern world upon sensuous satisfaction, the more and more insistent cry of *carpe diem*, is no more than the necessary consequence of wide circles of people having abandoned all deep religious care of the soul and spiritual fulfilment of life.

It is indeed time to consider the great problems of our civilization more from this standpoint, instead of merely condemning, from the moral point of view, the whole modern revolt and desire for an enhancement of life. Who knows if among those in revolt we may not find the more gifted and deeper characters, who have been prevented from rising above their merely natural desires, in the first place on account of the frequently weak and uninspiring character of our modern Christianity and social morality? Under the influence of a greater inspiration these would perhaps be the very people to respond most eagerly to a higher view of life.

When the rejection of the ascetic principle has proceeded yet further, men will be forced to realize that in an atmosphere of indulgence even the simplest and most indispensable acts of self-mastery will give way to the tyranny of the desires. For even the most elementary act of self-mastery presupposes a certain acceptance and social recognition of the principle of abnegation. "Can you conceive of a moral reaction," Richard Wagner once asked, "otherwise than under the conception of abnegation?" Truthfulness, loyalty, honor—all these elements of character demand an overcoming of self. They therefore need a view of life which emphasizes the spiritual power of man over mere impulses and desire, a view in which this spiritual element is cultivated and practised

as the foundation of all moral reliability. In order to realize this, one should consider the intelligent hatred with which the more consistent anti-moralists regard the ascetic principle and look upon all our moral views as the consequences of this principle. In this sense, Nietzsche describes the insistence upon truthfulness as an ascetic principle, which cannot justify itself from the point of view of mere life expansion. Who cannot perceive that, from this point of view, all earnest sense of honor undoubtedly bears within itself an element of self-overcoming, and who could be so blind, in the face of all such consequences, as not to perceive whence the rejection of the ascetic principle would ultimately lead?

All the points of view which we have above justified are also applicable to the objections raised against *ecclesiastical celibacy*, as if it were a sort of treachery to the race and an entirely antiquated and fruitless form of asceticism. To begin with, it seems to be quite forgotten that a class of persons who are not married, owing to natural causes, will always exist. Hence it is of great importance, in the interests of the happiness and vital energy of the unmarried, that their condition shall not be regarded as one of necessity, and as a frustrated form of existence, but as a hallowed state full of its own special advantages and blessings. This service is rendered by the voluntarily celibate life, dedicated to God, with all the glory of its heroic renunciation. By this means the state of the unmarried gains an altogether new dignity and meaning. The final trend of all arguments against celibacy dedicated to the service of religion is towards strengthening the view quite sufficiently strengthened by nature—that the real meaning of life lies in the fact of marriage, and that the unmarried are an inferior



class. It can be cloaked with fine words, but it is nevertheless the logical outcome of this attitude towards life. But it should never be forgotten that family life itself degenerates, unless it is kept in subjection to higher aims. Now celibacy is an extremely valuable means of representing the independence of higher aims in life against the ascendancy of family impulses and family cares, thus safeguarding marriage against being degraded from a sacrament to a mere matter of gratification.

Moreover, the argument already propounded in favor of asceticism, by the side of worldly callings and situations, is also applicable to this question. The oath of voluntary celibacy, so far from degrading marriage, is a support to the holiness of the marital bond, since it gives material shape to the spiritual freedom of man in the face of natural impulses; it also acts like a conscience, in respect of all passing moods and encroachments of the sensual temperament. Celibacy is a protection of marriage in this sense, too, that its existence prevents married people, in their relations to one another, from feeling themselves as the mere slaves of obscure natural forces, and leads them to take their stand against nature as free beings able to command. Those who mock at celibacy as unnatural and impossible, know not, in very truth, what they do. They do not see that the attitude which induces them to speak thus must lead, as its logical consequence, to prostitution and to the dissolution of monogamy. For, if the compulsion of nature be so urgent, how can one demand continence before marriage? In fact, how can one demand a chaste life from the unmarried? And finally, do they not give a thought to the number of marriages which are for months, or years, or even for life, tantamount to celibacy for one of the partners, because

the husband or wife has fallen a victim to illness? For this reason alone, consistent monogamy stands or falls with the esteem in which celibacy is held. It is no accident that Luther, by his fight against celibacy, was led to the secondary result that breach of marriage is permissible in cases where the physiological aim of the marriage cannot be fulfilled. He says, for instance:

If a healthy woman has an impotent husband, she is to say to him: See, dear husband, thou canst not take my virginity from me, and thou hast cheated me out of my young life, wherefore thine honor and hope of felicity are endangered, and there is no marriage between us in the sight of God. Grant that I may have a secret marriage with thy brother or nearest kinsman and thou shalt have the name, so that thy goods may not be inherited by strangers; and allow thyself to be willingly deceived in thy turn by me, as thou hast deceived me.

This position (taken up, consistently enough, by the Reformer personally) has checked further influence by the power of the deeper Christian tradition in this sphere. To-day Luther's strongly naturalistic view of these things revives again, and in modern writers it develops similar consequences. Forel, Ellen Key, and others, attack absolute monogamy for the same reasons which have been urged against celibacy; from which circumstance one only too clearly recognizes that celibacy is not a merely hierarchical institution, as has been assumed, but is at the same time an institution in favor of family life, a heroic taking of the offensive against the confident power of merely natural impulses—which make more and more demands the more concessions one makes to them, and whose despotism can be broken only by renunciation on the great scale.

Justly do the Protestants point to the great blessings which has issued from the evangelical manse; but they forget that truly Christian family life existed *before* Luther and exists still in both confessions, so that the

married pastor is not unconditionally necessary for this side of Christian culture. And they also forget that the Protestant manse itself, like the whole family of Christians, is still unconsciously nourished by the spiritual greatness of the institution of celibacy, of the mighty advance against the dominion of the senses which it represents. Marital fidelity is not in the least "natural," it is already an extraordinary conquest of Nature. Psychologically it is inextricably bound up with the demand that the spiritual man shall be stronger than his impulses and shall not be their obedient servant. Celibacy was the great sacrifice whose flame ever nourishes and irradiates this faith anew. And, in truth, how is one seriously to justify fidelity, if natural impulses are so unconquerable that celibacy must be pronounced to be folly and a sin against nature?

I have expressly drawn attention to the deeper consequences of the contempt of celibacy, because we have to deal in this book with the fundamental basis of all our pedagogic operations. In this connection I should not omit to point out that Schopenhauer characterized the rejection of celibacy as a fatal error on the part of Protestantism. Bähr, in his "*Gesprächen mit Schopenhauer*," reports that the latter said:

Protestantism killed one of the vital nerves of Christianity in combating the value of celibacy, which in the Catholic Church still finds its visible expression in the monasteries and nunneries. That Luther had by then entered into the state of matrimony, that he maintained the impossibility of a chaste life outside matrimony, is held to have decided the matter. "Wait!—that which thou hast said, that shall break thy neck." Continuing the conversation in a gentler tone, he admitted that Luther was a great man, a deep and powerful thinker, but that he was driven by the conditions of the times into too wide-reaching admissions.

These are very serious objections, but it is indeed the duty of our age to examine them and see if they are jus-

tified. It is an indisputable fact that Protestantism, with its objection on principle to the ascetic ideal of life, occupies an entirely isolated position amidst all the great religions, including those of the Ancient World. This should indeed give us pause. And the matter is not by any means settled by drawing attention to the unnatural character of asceticism, or by references to the abuses and exaggerations which naturally accompany such a great and difficult attempt to elevate man above himself. Protestantism should rather ask itself if, as a result of this position, it does not lend assistance to a species of naturalism which may some day prove disastrous to itself. When one bears in mind the remarkable reverence which was paid to the Vestals, and when one thinks of the saying *casta placent diis*, while remembering the almost universal rejection of the ascetic idea in Protestant literature, one is compelled to recall Schopenhauer's saying. One feels that Schopenhauer, in his elementary remark, gave expression to a sudden vision—namely, that such a position as this is absolutely incompatible with the essential foundations of a spiritual religion. In this respect Protestantism will be compelled to alter its position or to perish. The people itself *demand*s a standpoint superior to the world. It pays no attention to a form of belief which leaves it too much upon the level of its natural and economic life. Precisely those very people who live and work amidst material things demand, consciously or unconsciously, an ideal of super-material freedom. As is well known, Christianity would not have become a universal religion but for its immense power of resistance to the world. For secular life pure and simple, indeed, a religion is not necessary! The turning away of the young generation is not merely the result of

religious indifference; only too often it represents the rejection of a species of faith which no longer appears to possess a genuine inward belief in the superhuman, or which at any rate produces the impression that Christ only lived a superhuman life in order that we might be justified in remaining on the merely human level. For this reason Nietzsche sought to attain the superhuman by another road; he missed the heroic element in Christianity because it had fallen under the dominion of the domestic Philistine.

The rejection of every species of asceticism is, moreover, especially connected with the spirit of the great industrial community. Our economic system, with its unceasing pursuit of new opportunities for expansion, is wholly dependent upon an ever-increasing multiplication of human needs, not only in the case of the consumers, but also in the case of the workmen, who will work with greater intensity the more needs they and their women-folk have to satisfy. W. von Siemens tells us in his "Recollections," how, when building a great electricity works in the Caucasus, he had in the first place to solve the problem of the workers: this he did by encouraging the workmen's wives to wish for increased luxuries, jewelry, etc., in consequence of which the men were compelled to work with increased diligence. Modern industrial society regards the multiplication of material needs as the basis of its entire existence and therefore perceives in the ascetic principle its deadliest enemy, as clearly as the brewer sees his ruin threatened by the temperance movement. In his "Asiatic Studies," Lyall has given a vivid picture of the conflict between the Eastern ascetic view of life and modern civilization in India; we see the incompatibility of the two points of view and the moral confusion of the younger generation

of Indians which is growing up in the midst of this conflict. Japanese writers, in dealing with the fitness of the Asiatic races for modern industrial competition, have also drawn frequent attention to the fact that the whole view of life prevailing in the East is, so to speak, "anti-economical," and stands in diametrical opposition to that principle of industrial expansion which is the real motive power of the Western world; it will be necessary, therefore, for the East, if it is to enter into successful competition with the West, to take over not only the *machines* but also the *philosophy* of modern civilization.

In the opinion of a typical modern thinker such as Fr. Naumann, the ascetic ideal has passed away, never to return. He cannot see that it has any relationship to the great forces which mould life, and he regards it as a childish answer to the great economic questions of the day. In the face of the great industrial tasks of modern life, of what use to us is the ideal of voluntary poverty? Do we not rather need the desire for wealth, the greatest possible exertion and expansion of material power, to enlarge the bounds of human life? From this standpoint are we not compelled to regard the simplification of life as a weakening of economic energy?

The Bible tells us we are to make the world subject to ourselves; but it also says, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you." There is a full realization of the fact that matter is only really organized by means of spirit. From this point of view even an apparently remote and other-worldly inward deepening of life provides, at the same time, an increment of energy for secular civilization, and the most consistent liberation from the world is at the same time an increase in power over the world. Thus in the face of the modern type of civilization we may well ask: Is economic pro-

gress really bound up with this blind and feverish multiplication of needs, or is not man's material civilization itself dependent, perhaps, for its inner health, upon a strong counteracting factor in the shape of ascetic ideals? This is a question of decisive importance, in answering which the Western world may have occasion to realize anew the significance of the phrase *ex oriente lux*. In the midst of our apparently healthy and productive development of economical and technical energy who cannot perceive on every hand the symptoms of hidden disease? Consider, for example, the increasing brutality with which we pursue an aimless and meaningless struggle for life, the disintegration of will-power through the ever-increasing multiplication of the demands upon it, the disturbance of nervous equilibrium as a result of the creation of artificial needs, and the stimulus of more and more urgent claims, the deadening of spiritual power caused by the breathless pace of our machine-like system of life, in which all the inner needs of man are reckoned as no more than sand in the bearings! One day we shall come to ourselves and ask: What is the object of all this perpetual strain, all this restless activity; what is the ultimate aim of this soul-destroying haste and competition? Is it so important that men should travel more and more rapidly from St. Petersburg to Paris, or that one nation should outdo another in the manufacture of the best motor-cars? All deeper life, all sacred peace and solemnity, all humanity's higher goods, all quiet love, are sacrificed to the insatiable demands of our ever-increasing material needs. Every section of society is compelled to join in this acceleration of life and this restless multiplication of needs. Is it absolutely indispensable that the cultivation of the earth and the technical mastery

of nature should be accompanied by this destruction of the deeper life of humanity?

There can be no doubt that, either through its own downfall or through a timely regeneration, the civilized world will be compelled to abandon its present belief that the immeasurable increase of personal needs is the proper basis of its economic activity. An age will come when social thought will be deepened and purified, and when, even outside the Catholic Church, St. Francis of Assisi will raise up new disciples under new conditions. There can be no real love without great sacrifice, no true communal life without great abnegation, no renovation of society without a heroic struggle against selfishness. The creation of artificial necessities for personal life is, however, an incentive to the growth of selfishness; while our slavish dependence upon a recognized "standard of life" is the deepest cause of the bitter obstinacy of the opposing parties in our economic conflicts. The humanization of the economic struggle cannot come about except through the adoption of new values resulting from the ascent of new and higher ideals of life. On the other hand, the increase of the purely materialistic view of life, with its concentration upon outward things, will drive the struggle to a bitterness and intensity of which we can to-day form no conception.

Would it not be possible for the initiative of the individual and the total economic energy of humanity to accomplish much higher achievements, if we could succeed in freeing ourselves from the tyranny of a morbid individualism and in placing ourselves under the inspiration of great ideals and institutions in the service of justice and Christian charity, while at the same time not depriving natural human individualism of all its scope?



To-day all this sounds Utopian. It will appear less so when our civilization has proceeded a few more decades along its present line. It will be perceived that no merely socialistic machinery will be capable of controlling its impulse. Along this path there will be developed a corporative brutality and selfishness which will show only too clearly what socialization of the means of production signifies, when it is carried on by mere communities or political majorities, and not supported by superior ideals.

There will be no escape from this, except through the spirit, and there will be none without the aid of religion; for the latter has most clearly and purely embodied and exhibited the spiritual and has best shown us the significance of spiritual freedom. We feel inclined to remark at this point that St. Francis of Assisi has still much to say to our civilization. This is not meant in the sense that our industrial economics should take the form of an Italian idyll; on the contrary, there must be a full recognition of all the great accomplishments of modern technical science. But our economic life must in a great measure be subordinated to the development of the soul. In this manner alone our technical and economic activity will receive a counteracting force in face of the immense temptations which result from the ever-increasing power of man over the gifts and forces of the external world. Therefore, the principle of asceticism, as an educational method and as a way of life on the part of individual gifted natures, does not stand in opposition to economic development, but is rather the condition of its health. When there is no such active opposition to the tyrannical power of material interests, then economic development falls entirely into the hands of an ever-increasing desire for pleasure and a more and more un-

principled selfishness—and in this case there must come a catastrophe in comparison with which all the previous crises through which our civilization has passed will seem almost insignificant.

We should, at any rate, bear in mind that the passionate antipathy of the modern man to the ascetic principle is connected with the *laissez faire, laissez aller*, and other characteristic tendencies of our great industrial system of competition. The personal deepening of the social idea will doubtless also contribute towards the counteraction of the reckless and unscrupulous multiplication of needs and luxuries, towards awakening an understanding of the education for inner freedom, and towards destroying that false and misleading doctrine of freedom which encourages all our inclinations to run riot, while allowing our higher nature to pass into decay.

Auguste Comte, the founder of sociology and the first really consistent social philosopher of the nineteenth century, was also the first modern thinker who again assigned to asceticism its full rights. This he did in the name of social education. It was his regular custom to eat a piece of dry bread instead of dessert, in order that he might not fail to recollect those who had not even bread. We may take this as a symbol of the imperishable social value of the ascetic principle. It may serve to remind us that the limitless satisfaction of our personal needs and passions brings us into unavoidable conflict with all really deep social life, and that we do not become free to think of others, unless we are thoroughly practised in our own emancipation from our own moods and instincts. Only the really free man is capable of true social conduct. Of freedom, however, we may say that it can be attained only by those "who must conquer it daily."

## Joy and Christianity

By the RT. REV. PAUL WILHELM VON KEPPLER.

*With the kind permission of B. Herder, the well-known St. Louis publisher, the following pages are reprinted from "More Joy," the Bishop of Rottenburg's excellent book, which the Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., has translated into English. The work is sold for \$1.00.*

Thinkers [of to-day] agree that, despite all technical progress, all beautifying and improving of the conditions of life, despite all increasing and refining of pleasure, modern culture is unable to satisfy the inner man, but impoverishes and weakens and empties him, and ends with a lamentable deficit of joy. It admits failure and at heart is plainly diseased, rotten. For all healthy culture buds and blooms in joy; all healthy life incessantly and in rich fullness puts forth flowers of joy.

Modern culture is fundamentally worldly, and of this present life; it is culture of technical science, culture of the intellect. Hence it is incapable of satisfying or contenting man, and is empty of joy. True culture is essentially inner culture of heart and soul. "Only when we set a higher value upon character than upon knowledge and thought," says Saitschick quite rightly, "are we tilling the soil in which real culture grows." The overrating of knowledge and intellect at the cost of will and character is the malady of our age and has made us unhappy. We should pay more attention to Schiller's saying:

When a man has once reached the point of cultivating his mind at the expense of his heart, to him the holiest thing is no longer holy; to him man and God are nothing; neither world is aught in his eyes.

[Without question, there is a] heavy deficit of joy on the balance-sheet of modern culture. Now comes the question, "What causes this deficit?" Various contributory causes we have already indicated; but the principal cause still remains to be named. As a matter of fact the chief cause is the irreligious, unchristian spirit of the age. This spirit is the sworn enemy and assassin of joy. It sets up the intellect as a tyrant to oppress the heart and soul. It tries to banish faith from the people's hearts, although faith emancipates and makes them happy as nothing else can. Doubt saddens us and unbelief makes us wretched. Even Friedrich Strauss, in his letters, admits that man gets along better with faith than without it. This spirit of the age destroys the innocence of the soul and hence all true joy. It tries to disrupt the union of the soul with God; and without God there can be no real joy in life. It chills the heart and withers it up with selfishness, emptying it of love and, consequently, of joy. It leads man to keep ever circling and circling about his own petty self as a centre, and this brings on giddiness, vertigo and finally nausea.

This spirit of the age is a great liar and impostor. It pretends that modern and material improvements will lead men to happiness and joy. And yet, as Carlyle forcibly puts it, all the ministers of finance and all the reformers of modern Europe together, could not make one bootblack happy, or at most could not make him happy for more than a couple of hours. The spirit of the age promises that it will open up new worlds of

joy and, as if by magic, create numberless new pleasures in the life of man, by giving free rein to the instincts, provoking and spurring on lust, opening the road for the passions, and licensing vice. The real consequence, however, is ruin of both soul and body, a disturbing and shattering of the entire nervous system, the loss of strength to act and to endure, weariness instead of joy in living, pessimism, fatalism, and suicide. The spirit of the age is, indeed, the chief enemy of joy. All other virus, or poison, can be easily overcome by the antidote of a strong healthy Christian sense but, once infected by the zeitgeist, we are lost.

Therefore, the only possible solution is the one which always gives the modern world nervous spasms and drives it into mental convulsions:

We must go back to Christian faith, back to healthy folk-life, to religious earnestness, to humility and simplicity of heart, to plain, noble, pure habits of thought, to religion, to the Church, to Christ.

We cannot dispense with this "Go Back!" for the reason that absolutely no other power can hold in check the enemies who under the leadership of the spirit of the age, their commander-in-chief, are invading and devastating the world of joy. This same power achieves still more. It constructs deep coffers around every one of nature's sweet sources of joy, so as to exclude all poisonous seepage, and, on its own higher level, it opens up numberless supernatural springs of joy.

"A crucified man!—A fine God of Joy, forsooth!" "Self-crucifixion!—Truly a delightful path of joy!" Thus sneers the anti-Christian world. In these recent years we frequently encounter the same old pagan attacks with which Herder, Goethe, and Schiller were familiar.

Again are free spirits, like Heine, impelled "to take up arms for the old gods and their good ambrosial law" against "the wan Christ with his bleeding savior-hands," against "the pale Galilean who delights in the whimpering over bliss destroyed," against "the enemy of joy with his bloodless hands," against "the symbol of the negation of life" and "the blaspheming of life." Men are still mourning the paradise of joy that vanished with the mythology of ancient Greece. "When the gods were still guiding the fair world in the sweet leading-strings of joy, how different, oh! how different, all was then!"

But historical researches have destroyed this myth of the Hellenic paradise. Greece's art, its noblest possession, supreme in harmony and symmetry, speaks not of joy and pleasure only, but also of tearful suffering and of tragic woe—witness the farewell scenes upon the tombstones. In the last analysis Greek art was a song of sorrow. During the archaic age, its monuments were tombs or sepulchral decorations. It is no Olympian mirth that laughs at us from antiquity. In the endeavor to be happy there was produced only a wild, noisy laughter with a boisterousness evidently intended to conceal deep-lying pain. Ancient art vanishes with a song of sorrow, in the tomb sculpture of the first Christian century. According to one of the men most familiar with antiquity, "The Greeks amid the splendor of art and in the highest enjoyment of liberty, were more unhappy than is generally supposed."

The cross with its stern lines—a cold, bare, branchless tree with rough-hewn stumps for arms—is indeed at first sight a sad and joyless thing to look at, so true an image is it of harsh contradiction, so good a symbol of bitter pain. Yet men find that the cross possesses a certain

beauty. In its sturdy clear-cut, well-proportioned form they see a picture of steadfastness, of aspiring effort, of opposition conquered and contradictories reconciled. The sight of a man hanging in agony upon the cross arouses, at first, no sense of joy, it is true. Yet there is a well-spring of joy in the sure faith, that the Divine Hero bleeding on the cross is dying in battle against the fiercest foe of joy and of salvation, and conquering as He dies. The cross becomes the symbol of victory and thereby the symbol of joy. Darkness and gloom are dispelled and everywhere is shed the glory of the Resurrection. In its light, the tree of the cross becomes the tree of life, of resistless power; the dried trunk is clothed with blossoms and fruit; and out of the crown of thorns spring forth roses.

Thus also is it with the cross and the crucifixion in the life of each individual Christian. That a man should take up his cross daily; that he should not only bear his cross, but crucify the flesh, the old man—these are not forced figures of speech, but stern demands which certainly do seem likely to lead far away from joy. Yet the battle to which they summon is waged not against joy, but against joy's worst enemies. The cross obliges us to renounce the apples of Sodom, the wild cherries of sin, which are really no joys at all, but it does not demand a total renunciation of legitimate natural joys; it only insists that they be used in moderation and with a good intention. This much would be required not by Christian morality alone, but by reason and health as well. Excessive enjoyment always begets disgust. Unrestricted activity and gratification of the sensual instincts does not add to the sum of joy, but ruins both joy and the man; it sins not only against morality but against hygiene,

which is to-day sometimes regarded as the supreme standard. A life "beyond good and evil"—to use Nietzsche's phrase—unscrupulous poaching, complete loosing of the wild, natural instincts, whose advocate, protector and prophet Nietzsche was unwillingly degraded into becoming by his less worthy disciples, the freeing of "the beast of prey within man, the fair, ravening, blond beast, lusting for prey and conquest,"—all this does not enrich, gladden, deepen, nor sweeten life. It delivers life over to the most wretched languor, to the hospital, the mad-house, to suicide—"those graves of lust" so numerous in the world to-day.

Such is the lesson of experience. It can almost be demonstrated statistically, although the great, sinful, deceitful world will not believe it, nor admit it. Austere Christian morality, the commandment of self-conquest, temperance, mortification, moderation, fasting, do not interfere with happiness. They are really no more hostile to joy than the gardener is hostile to the rose, when in spring and autumn he cuts and trims the bush.

Foerster gives two excellent quotations from Tolstoi and Matthias Claudius:

Neither the Christian nor the heathen, says Tolstoi, can start the work of perfection anywhere except at the beginning, namely, in the practice of temperance. . . . Temperance is the first stage of a good life and it can be reached only step by step. Temperance is emancipation from one's lusts. But man has many lusts, and to wage effectual war, he must begin with the fundamentals, gluttony, sloth, sensuality. And Matthias Claudius observes: Many men condemn fasting, but it should not be wholly condemned. We too readily condemn what we are unwilling to do ourselves. Abuse, of course, may creep in anywhere. They tell us that to be always moderate is better than to fast at times; and this may be quite true; but since the majority of men are



not always moderate, it is a good thing, now and then, to show who is master in the house.

Even Goethe realized that nothing but the spirit of austerity and sacrifice can provide the proper basis for a healthy, happy, cheerful life. He declared this in the well-known verses :

If thou hast not part  
In death as well as birth,  
A sorry guest thou art  
Upon the gloomy earth.

Yes! man must die in order to grow. He must renounce selfishness, for it makes him poorer, not richer, and especially poorer in joy.

Nothing shuts in a life and shuts out satisfaction and joy like the self-considering temper and the self-centered aim. Such a life, though it may seem to itself self-developing, is in fact self-deceived. Instead of growing richer in its resources, it finds itself growing poorer. The more it cultivates itself, the more sterile it grows; the more it accumulates, the less it has; the more it saves, the more it is lost.

It is unreasonable and even absurd to demand unrestricted freedom as a condition of joy. Ruskin is clear and true on this point :

For wise laws and just restraints are to a noble nation not chains, but chain mail—strength and defence, though something also of an incumbrance. And this necessity of restraint, remember, is just as honorable to man as the necessity of labor. You hear every day greater numbers of foolish people speaking about liberty, as if it were such an honorable thing: so far from being that, it is, on the whole, and in the broadest sense, dishonorable, and an attribute of the lower creatures. No human being, however great, or powerful, was ever so free as a fish. There is always something that he must, or must not do; while the fish may do what-

ever he likes. . . . You will find, on fairly thinking of it, that it is his restraint which is honorable to man, not his liberty; . . . And throughout the world, of the two abstract things, liberty and restraint, restraint is always the more honorable. It is true, indeed, that in these and all other matters you never can reason finally from the abstraction, for both liberty and restraint are good when they are nobly chosen, and both are bad when they are basely chosen; but of the two, I repeat, it is restraint which characterizes the higher creature, and betters the lower creature: and, from the ministering of the archangel to the labor of the insect,—from the poisoning of the planets to the gravitation of a grain of dust,—the power and glory of all creatures, and all matter, consist in their obedience, not in their freedom. The sun has no liberty—a dead leaf has much. The dust of which you are formed has no liberty. Its liberty will come—with its corruption. . . . I have hardly patience to hold my pen and go on writing, as I remember (I would that it were possible for a few consecutive instants to forget) the infinite follies of modern thought in this matter, centered in the notion that liberty is good for a man, irrespectively of the use he is likely to make of it. Folly unfathomable! unspeakable! unendurable to look in the full face of, as the laugh of a cretin. You will send your child, will you, into a room where a table is loaded with sweet wine and fruit—some poisoned, some not?—you will say to him, “Choose freely, my little child! It is so good for you to have freedom of choice: it forms your character—your individuality! If you take the wrong cup, or the wrong berry, you will die before the day is over, but you will have acquired the dignity of a free child!”

When will men grow wise enough to perceive that duty, command, obedience, are not enemies and hindrances but guardians and protectors of true freedom and bringers of true joy?

In modern times Christianity is denounced as a destroyer of joy, mainly because it rigorously and strictly fences in and holds down the sexual life and thus pre-

cludes many "possibilities of happiness" and seals up many sources of enjoyment. There are pupils of Nietzsche who, going beyond their master, demand absolute freedom for sexual love and even want to have it liberated from the yoke of monogamy and every moral law.

Max Zerbst has recently constructed "a philosophy of joy," built upon the senseless claim that joy and pleasure should be independent of all moral laws and all institutions—because institutions, such as the State, the Church, the school, and the moral law, are the great disturbers of man's inner balance. This "philosophy" is dedicated to Aristippus of Cyrene and concludes with a hymn to Pleasure. It asserts that pain is always evil; that pleasure is the one precious thing in life, the sole source of vital energy, man's chief liberator and redeemer, and his highest good. But instead of showing how pleasure can be heightened and deepened so as to eliminate all pain and to permeate and bless the whole of life, Zerbst finds himself shuddering with nameless horror at the first forebodings of the new "era of pleasure" whose coming he has heralded in Bacchic style.

F. W. Foerster has given a manly and downright answer to the wretched and unbalanced worshippers of pleasure, the male and female advocates of free-love who support the absolute dictatorship of Eros. His answer applies equally well to those more serious people who imagine that in these matters of sex, strict order and discipline may have been necessary in former times but that modern man must have the courage to act freely and independently. To give free rein to sexuality and eroticism does not really produce joy, but merely sacrifices the spiritual self to the sensual. In this matter, "the

grand old commandments and the mighty old ideals" of Christianity, the religious sense and the power of grace, are quite indispensable, and all the more indispensable, because modern men are not stronger but weaker in character and will-power. It is only by means of the helps just mentioned that the sexual impulse can be checked and controlled so as to be a blessing instead of a fearful curse. If Christianity is reproached with having stifled natural instincts and lessened human joy, the answer may well be "Christianity does not stifle the natural instincts, but regulates, purifies and ennobles them. You, yourselves, on the other hand, strangle the will, the higher spiritual self, by smothering it with flesh."

Teachers who seriously think of regulating the reproductive instinct without the aid of the Commandments or other religious helps, says Foerster, are, like engineers who would dam up a mighty river by playing upon flutes. Some day, when it is too late, they will see the flood of filth go pouring over the dikes. With good reason Foerster warns against the fashionable mania for enlightenment, which does not exorcise the danger it professes to fear but invokes it. Incalculable evils result from prematurely, imprudently, or needlessly directing the attention to sexual matters. That is going to the same extreme as if we attempted to instruct a family in the danger of contagion by introducing germs into the home. It is not so much enlightenment of the intellect that is needed, as strengthening and training of the character and will, in order that there may be at hand a power, a master, to watch over the developing sex-instinct, to set it in its place, and if necessary, to bind it with chains. All this is demanded in the interest of joy itself. For the pleasures of erotic passion are real destroyers of joy.

Love is indeed a source of joy; but a source which must be walled in and protected from infection. It must be led from nature's lower levels to the heights of the soul.

[Regarding the nature of the Christian's joy Father A. M. Weiss writes as follows:]

The world has always felt sure that the Christian life is gloomy and disagreeable. The first Christians encountered this reproach from those who knew their deeds and characteristics only by hearsay. That the notion is false we need scarcely say. Any man, personally acquainted with those who are Christians by conviction, can bear witness that he has never met so sincere a welcome, such unaffected courtesy, such innocent cheerfulness as in familiar intercourse with truly Christian spirits. Even our avowed enemies concede this fact which, indeed, is so evident that the stiff, affected piety characteristic of a spurious religion, never stops complaining about it. . . . If these censors had become acquainted with Christianity in its true form, that is to say, when earnestly lived up to, they would better understand the source of that happiness, that childlike delight in nature, in a word, that frank, cheerful spirit, which is the characteristic of every class and every period ruled by faith. . . . Everywhere and always it has been observed that true exactitude and earnestness in the service of God, are rewarded with serenity of soul and happiness. Chrysostom remarked it among the naturally gloomy Phœnicians and Syrians; the Jesuits observed it among the ferocious Indians of Paraguay. To-day, according to a keen observer, A. von Hübner, travelers of every creed note that when the Chinese are converted to Christianity, the very expression of the features alters; and although the average Chinaman displays most offensively his unbelief, irony, or sullen indifference, yet the visitor to any Catholic Church in China will be joyfully surprised at the unwonted look of trust, reverence, and holiness on the faces there.

For those who believe in the Christian faith, and live up to their belief, the bounds of enjoyment are set by

duty, by obedience to the Commandments, by the rules of physical and spiritual health, by love of God and one's neighbor. Within these bounds all legitimate sources of joy flow in fuller and purer streams than in the world. Within these bounds prevails St. Paul's law of liberty, "All things are yours," instead of the narrow Jewish law, "Touch not, taste not, handle not." Moreover the Christian has first claim on the rich harvest of joy gathered from the fields of the earth, even in this present life,—namely, the joys offered by nature, by the home, by society, by art, not excepting food and drink. The Christian has the first claim to these things, because "for the faithful above all God hath created them," and the Christian knows how to partake of them with thanksgiving to the glory of God, and to sanctify them by the word of God and prayer. He is skilled in the art of adding to every cup of joy a drop of eternity, of grace, of heavenly bliss, and makes joy a true elixir of life, so that both body and soul may share the enjoyment, and thus heighten the value and promote the purpose of life.

Even with regard to purely natural pleasures, it holds good that "godliness is profitable to all things, having promise not only of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." "Keep a good conscience and thou shalt always have joy," is the simple yet sound advice of "The Following of Christ"; and that advice is confirmed by experience, "If there be joy in the world, certainly the man whose heart is pure enjoys it."

Moreover, there are open to the Christian whole kingdoms of joy which are inaccessible to the worldling and the sinner. Faith, the state of grace, prayer, lift us up into the sunshine and into the presence of God; they weave a blue sky that stretches over the whole extent of

life; they establish and maintain a uniform cheerfulness which suffering and trouble cannot disturb.

Who can number, or analyze, or describe, the joys of prayer? St. Bernard says, "God, being tranquil, tranquilizes all and to see Him resting is to be at rest." This rest, produced by prayer, is the prerequisite and foundation of the soul's joy. In this peaceful realm there blooms a flora of joy, so abundant, so richly and variously colored, that it cannot be described or classified. Indeed, there is a deeper significance than is commonly supposed in the counsel of St. James: "Is any of you sad? Let him pray." St. Chrysostom calls prayer "a refuge in every sorrow, a principle of constant pleasure, the mother of philosophy." St. Nilus calls it a "charm against sadness and depression of soul." And Lagarde says that piety is the sound health of the soul.

What a good spirit prevails in the house where family prayer is the custom. At least once each morning and evening, this brings together the members scattered here and there, during the rest of the day; it maintains the sentiment of unity; it creates the breathing spots and intervals of repose so badly needed in these strenuous times. Pray and time stands still. Family prayer lifts the household up into a higher world. "It is a key by day and a lock by night." It resolves discords with the utmost simplicity, relieves strain, purifies the atmosphere of the home, sanctifies domestic joy and invests the father of the family with priestly dignity. The family prayer and hymn make the sweetest music ever heard upon earth and they unite each particular household to the whole blessed family of God.

True, the Christian law of life is stern and austere, but, as in the Ark of the Covenant, jars of sweet

manna stand next to the Tables of the Law. Throughout the ecclesiastical year the life of the Christian is filled to overflowing with joys of the noblest kind. The sacraments are intimately related to joy. They restore it when lost; they nourish and increase it when present; they ennoble and sanctify it, if it is merely natural. Confession is a relief for life's grief and weariness, a safety-valve for the terrible pressure of the sense of guilt. The Sacrament of the Altar opens up an infinite realm of mystical joys. The House of God and the worship of God are rich in sublime poetry, in heart-stirring joy. Here the Christian people find their heavenly home, their spiritual drama and concert and art-exhibition.

Writes Grupp: To what delight is the pious soul introduced by a worthy communion! Piercing through all earthly veils, she perceives the great mystery and sees the heavens opened. One who has experienced such joy can never again be utterly unhappy or unbelieving. The Greeks were wont to say that no one who had looked upon the statue of Olympian Jove could ever again be entirely miserable. How much more truly may this be said of the Christian who has experienced the presence of God in prayer.

Of old, privileges which came from no overlord but were due simply to God and the sun, were called "sun-rights." In the same sense, Sunday may be called the people's "sun-right." What rights and what joys are lacking in the individual life when Sunday counts as nothing, when servile work burdens the Lord's Day or debauchery dishonors it! The day is made a day of real joy through a wonderful combination of the natural and supernatural pleasures contributed by godly rest, the loosening of labor's yoke, the united worship of God, the sermon at High Mass, the outing in the fields and woods,



and the hours of quiet enjoyment at the family hearth. In the "Hymelstras," Brother Stephen gives a charming description of the father of a family taking "his little folk" to the sermon and afterwards asking them what they have heard, supplementing their observations with his own. Then he gets his little drink and sings his good song, "and thus he and his little flock were happy in the Lord."

In his "Book of Childhood," Bogumil Goltz has described the fascination of Sunday for the child-mind:

Ah! on this day nothing was the same as on school-days and work-days. We felt the difference in the air we breathed and the soil we trod; we drank it in with the very water. The sunbeams flashed it into the soul; the sparrows twittered it among the notes of the church organ; the trees told it to one another with rustling leaves. Before sunrise, in the gray dawn, the coming hours of happiness were borne on the wings of the morning wind to this chosen day. O Lord, My God, then in very truth it was Sunday,—Sunday through the whole day, Sunday in every hour and minute, in every twinkling of an eye, in every flash of a sunbeam, in every throb of the pulse, in every drop of blood, in all the body and all the soul. One could hear and see nothing, feel nothing, be aware of nothing, will nothing, think nothing, but just that it was Sunday, the sacred day. All that one looked at or experienced, was different from on other days,—the same and yet not the same, for it was illumined, hallowed, and invested with the mysterious radiance of Sunday.

Every festive season has its own peculiar joys. Not even during solemn Advent, nor in the penitential season of Lent, is joy lacking. How full of joy is the message renewed each year by the Christmas angels and again by the Easter Alleluia. To pray means to relieve one's heart, to bid care begone, to breathe out misery and distress, to breathe in the pure mountain air and the energy

of another world. Intercourse with the saints enlivens the heart, just like conversation with the noblest men. A childlike relationship with the Mother of God imparts and preserves in every period of life that childlike happiness which only a mother's presence and a mother's love bestow; so with good reason Mary is called *Causa nostrae laetitiae*, "Cause of Our Joy." Each one of the Christian virtues has its own content of joy; each is a little garden harboring flowers of every form and color and fragrance. The flowers of hope, in particular, have this special quality that they survive the roughest weather and become all the stronger and more fragrant amid the most violent storms.

In truth, there is no soil so rich as religion in springs of health, none so well supplied with fresh, sweet water. In whatever spot we dig down, bright clear streams come gushing forth. One realizes the meaning of the prophet's words: "They shall fear and be troubled for all the good things and for all the peace that I will make for them." Many perhaps will be too highly "cultured" to perceive and enjoy these quiet delights; but the good, plain people will enjoy them all the more for their simplicity; the poor Christian working-man and working-woman will absorb them all the more gratefully. True, as well as beautiful, are the words of that noble convert Elizabeth Gnauck-Kühne:

Who understands the working-woman? Who bothers about her welfare? Let us answer briefly.—The Catholic Church, first and before all others. . . . When she summons to High Mass, she bedecks herself like a loving mother in order to be beautiful to her children. She is very fair and despises no earthly adornment. If the working-woman holds this mother's hand fast in her own, then, at least once every seven days she will have the delightful experience of spend-

ing one happy hour, and for the time being her wheel of Ixion will stop whirling. Her senses, dulled by dust and noise and filth, will be aroused, and her soul will rest again in God. The world has shut out the working-woman from all that is fair in nature and art. The Catholic Church vested splendidly for her sake, soothes her life,—her poor, bare, prosaic life,—with a breath of beauty and lofty poetry. And although this poetry and this beauty are perhaps not analyzed, they are deeply appreciated.

Worldly folk cannot understand such joy. When they hear it spoken of, they answer with that notorious silly laugh of theirs, and look like blind men who hear someone speaking of colors. Yet religious joys are really precious; and moreover, they may be acquired by any soul of faith and good-will. They are strong and mighty realities. They give the sole explanation of the fact that the number of happy, contented, joyous persons is a hundredfold greater among faithful Christians, than among the most highly privileged classes of worldlings, who regard amusement as the only occupation and the chief concern of life. We know how much gilded misery exists among these people; we have heard certain startling admissions and confessions made by them. On many tombs might fittingly be placed the epitaph Dinkelstedt composed for himself:

He had in life much happiness,  
Yet happy he has never been.

Worldly men possess and secure many joys; still they are without joy. The fact is these joys have no real value; they are froth and show that quickly surfeit, but never satisfy, a man. Worldly joys are like all other worldly goods. "Possessed, they are a burden; loved, they are a defilement; lost, they are a torment." St.

Ignatius of Loyola said: "All the honey that can be gathered from the blossoms of the world does not contain as much sweetness as the gall and vinegar of our Saviour."

The world, itself—so sceptical about joys which it cannot see, nor touch, nor eat, nor drink—yet comes under their benign influence. Persons who possess these joys in fulness become makers of joy and bringers of joy to everyone around them, and are thus real benefactors of all mankind. How joyless life would be were it not for these sunny souls, who are so happy themselves and radiate happiness to others. We meet them everywhere, sometimes even in beggars' rags, or in childish forms, more often in peasant dress and in priestly or religious garb than in silk and satin garments, more often in the homely hut than in the splendid salon, more often in the country than in the city. Upon closer acquaintance we see that the constant serenity of their lives and the overflowing joy which they impart to others, must be the reflection of their own simple, homely, hearty faith and piety and sincerity. There is something angelic about them; they radiate light and beneficent warmth. Neither the coarsest mind nor the gloomiest heart can resist their influence.

When they approach and offer aid, the sufferers smile, the savage grow tame, curses and blasphemies are silenced, unhappiness is banished and its ravages are checked by a mightier power. They have the magic gift of lifting the weight from the hearts of their fellowmen by a soft word and a bright look, of finding a balm for every wound, and, above all, of compounding out of their own souls' suffering and distress, the medicines and draughts of joy that others need. As Hilty says,

Truly spontaneous goodness of heart is not the fruit of philosophy and culture. To produce it is the undeniable and exclusive privilege of Christianity, and this is the living proof, throughout the centuries, of Christianity's divine origin. Even to-day, the attempt to find a substitute for the Christian religion must fail, because nothing else can possibly give birth to a like cheerfulness and kindness.

Bless them! those sunny souls, with their kindly eyes and their hearts of gold, true benefactors of humanity. Would that they were a thousand times more numerous, then the problem of joy would be finally solved. But meanwhile, how can their number be increased? Why, of course, by your joining them. And how is that to be done? We can only answer: "Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, and his justice, and all these things (including joy) shall be added unto you." Be more faithful in the performance of your duty, especially your religious duty, and joy will come spontaneously. If we wish to have flowers, we must plant and water them. This does not imply that we cannot make a direct effort to learn and to exercise joyousness and friendliness. In fact, to study with especial care this fair aspect of Christianity and to practice cheerfulness, is a proceeding which, at the present time, seems to be particularly expedient and meritorious.



# Modern Civilization

By the REV. H. E. B. ROPE.

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It was, until very lately, almost universally assumed by non-Catholics that, whatever its shortcomings and failures, the civilization distinctive of those nations of Europe and North America that as bodies reject the Catholic Faith is the truest and highest. This civilization has been developed and received its special character from the industrial revolution, which might almost be called its generating principle, though it springs ultimately from the so-called Reformation. It will scarcely be questioned that this civilization is best studied in the home of the said revolution, in Great Britain. Until very lately one could hardly open a book of travels without finding pages of pitying contempt for the ignorant, superstitious peasants, the primitive and homely craftsmanship of the South, and homilies upon their laziness in not hastening to kindle the devouring fires of industrialism. These judgments are still axiomatic with many who pass for educated and all the half-educated who absorb the catchwords of the daily press without reflection, and to such those who question these axioms appear worse than maniacs or blasphemers. And yet it is fairly obvious that "anarchy in thought, license in conduct, severe opposition of class interests, and a growing melancholy which betrays itself in the shape of insanity and even

suicide, can not be deemed evidence of truth conquering falsehood, or of progress moving on to a higher civilization." And it is undeniable that "the nations of the world in the opening years of the new century have attained neither private happiness nor public peace, but are face to face with social discord, national rivalries, unhappy homes, spreading divorce and the dark shadow of anarchism."

Everywhere we are faced with break-down, dislocation and disruption. Industrial upheavals grow more menacing year by year, and the ravages of insanity are increasing portentously. "The American prides himself on his smartness; but it is in his busiest market-place that spiritism, faith-healing, and impostures wilder than these, flourish exceedingly. In Paris of late years every conceivable superstition has found a home. Among ourselves, the temper which welcomed neo-Buddhism is not extinct, and ridicule fails to kill the varieties of occult science."

These things being so, it is truly amazing that so few should be found to raise the question not merely whether "progress" is working out satisfactorily, but whether the whole civilization be not at fault and its first principles radically wrong. This would lead on to two further questions—what is civilization, and, is our industrialism indeed civilization and not rather a reversion to barbarism?

"In defining the civilization which the Church requires as an essential condition to her action, and perfects when created, we have not adverted to that which forms the great boast of our modern times, giving them an incalculable superiority, as men flatter themselves, over all which have preceded. We mean, of course, that whole



apparatus of wonderful inventions and discoveries, directed chiefly to an increase of material enjoyment of riches, luxury, and comfort, such as our fathers never imagined. But—may we not add?—*neither would they ever have conceived that such things formed any integral part of the civilization of a Christian people.* Our writers have not spoken of these any more than of all the new-born political and social theories, so full of promise of future liberty and happiness, so little successful as yet in securing these blessings to humanity, because *they would certainly not have been included in the idea of civilization as our ancestors understood it.* Not but that there is a sense in which material comforts and political liberties result from Christian civilization; but as they were never the direct aim of the Church, still less were they ever sought by her without limit or restriction. They flowed as natural consequences from blessings of a higher order, and this very circumstance confined them in proper bounds, obviating the dangers which arise when they are viewed as absolute goods in themselves, a perversion which makes them degenerate into means of corruption and consequently into sources of barbarism."

Yet how many are under the delusion that these material inventions constitute civilization! In these alone do we excel previous ages, and these are not an essential of civilization at all! Here, surely, is matter for reflection! What, then, is civilization? The late Mr. Charles Devas, by no means "a Tory reactionary," be it noted, defines it as "the condition of a large group of men displaying the following seven characteristics:

"First, the possession of a city worthy of the name; not the extended villages of the Germans described by

Tacitus, or of the Gauls, till a short time before the Roman conquest. Secondly, some degree of political order and power; not a clan system like that of the Scotch Highlanders described in 'Waverley' and 'Rob Roy.' Thirdly, some proficiency in the industrial arts, in agriculture, manufactures, mining, building, and transport; not the rude agriculture of the Kaffirs in Mashonaland, the negroes in Nigeria, or the aboriginal tribes in the forests of Central India. Fourthly, some proficiency in the fine arts, in architecture, sculpture, painting and music; not the simple decorations of the royal palaces in Dahomey or Ashanti, or the Celtic ornamentation in pre-Roman Britain. Fifthly, some knowledge of philosophy, history and physical science, above the standard of the peasant commonwealth of the fifteenth century Swiss. Sixthly, a written literature; not the unwritten songs of the heroic age of poetry, such as the old Greek or Norse or Celtic epics. Seventhly, a small portion of the people differentiated as an upper class with considerable wealth and leisure; not the simple equality of Red Indian tribes, or the scanty difference of social position among pastoral peoples 'without settled abodes or accumulation of wealth.'

This definition is far from perfect, but sufficiently accurate for working purposes. The writer proceeds to divide civilization into material and intellectual, and points out that one society may be at the same time more civilized materially and less intellectually, or *vice versa*, than another, and quotes St. Augustine on the naturalness of civilization, adding, what our evolutionists ignore or forget, "nor is it without significance that of the seven steps upward attainable by man, civilization is only the third, and four remain above it, so much greater and

higher than the sphere of the physical and intellectual is the sphere of the moral and the spiritual." Then there is that comfortable word "progress," hardest worked of all the "counters," as Stevenson called them, that shallow moderns substitute for thought. What is vulgarly so-called is mere change, no matter how foolish, or mere increase of mechanical appliances without any regard whether their effects be good or evil. Progress should mean "increase in quantity or quality of some good," and, used absolutely, of goods in general, by no means of one particular and subordinate good. Or one might define it as a change from a lower to a higher degree of well-being. To appraise the (unqualified) progress of any society, or compare it with that of another, is thus a matter of some difficulty! And as for particular progress, it is of *some* importance to know whether the higher characteristics have been sacrificed to advance in the lower, or material advance has been bought at the price of intellectual or moral retrogression! Indeed, it is hard to have patience with those who prate of "progress" without stopping to consider *whither*. Even a Positivist will rise up to condemn them.

"Stupefied with smoke and stunned with steam-whistles, there was a moment when the (19th) century listened with equanimity to the vulgarest of its flatterers. But if machinery were really its last word we should all be rushing violently down a steep place like a herd of swine."

"Rapid progress," indeed. What is the most frequently assigned cause for the unstemmable tide of insanity? "The pace at which we live." Must there not, then, be something seriously wrong with such pace, and that which produces it? Is it not just possible after all

that the "backward" corners of Christendom, or what was Christendom, such as the Tyrol, Brittany, Spain, or western Ireland, central and southern Italy, that do not live at a pace inducing lunacy and suicide, may actually be wise in their refusal, may conceivably be even more *civilized* than ourselves? Indignant scorn is the usual answer. But "facts are chieft that winna ding," and it is a fact that these "benighted" populations are far happier, saner and more moral than Great Britain, Prussia, North America, or the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. And, surely, even from an evolutionist point of view happiness, sanity, and morality are very considerable goods, and misery, lunacy, and suicide, both individual and racial, very considerable evils? Even in this world one would think these "retrograde" peoples are apt to have the best of it. Perhaps, then, in spite of the higher critics, there is some bearing on political economy in the words, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you."

And if the kingdom of God be also taken into account the scale would seem to weigh rather heavily against the "progressive" nations! For of them, as of individuals, it may be said

"That, has the world here—should he need the next,  
Let the world mind him!  
This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed  
Seeking shall find Him."

Only it seems that "that" is failing even to have the world here. England sold her faith for dominion, and is losing that; later she sold her agriculture for commerce, and is losing that. One is irresistibly reminded that "from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have." Let us listen again to a

Positivist testimony concerning modern industrialism: its eloquence will excuse its length.

"To cover whole countries with squalid buildings, to pile up one hundred thousand factory chimneys, vomiting soot, to fill the air with poisonous vapors till every leaf within ten miles is withered, to choke up rivers with putrid refuse, to turn tracts as big and once as lovely as the New Forest into the arid, noisome wastes; cinder-heaps, cesspools, coal-dust, and rubbish—rubbish, coal-dust, cesspools and cinder-heaps, and overhead by day and by night a murky pall of smoke—all this is not an heroic achievement if this Black Country is only to serve as a prison-yard or workhouse-yard for the men, women, and children who dwell there. To bury Middlesex and Surrey under miles of flimsy houses, crowd into them millions and millions of overworked, underfed, half-taught, and often squalid men and women; to turn the silver Thames into the biggest sewer recorded in history; to leave us all to drink the sewerage water, to breathe the carbonized air, to be closed up in a labyrinth of dull, sooty unwholesome streets, to leave hundreds and thousands confined there with gin, and bad air, and hard work, and low wages—breathing contagious diseases, and sinking into despair of soul and feebler condition of body; and then to sing pæans and shout because the ground shakes and the air is shrill with the roar of infinite engines and machines, because the black streets are lit up with garish gas-lamps, and more garish electric-lamps, and the Post Office carries billions of letters. . . . This is surely not the last word in civilization. . . . What do we gain if in covering our land with factories and steam-engines we are covering it also with want and wretched-

ness? And if we can make a shirt for a penny and a coat for sixpence, and bring bread from every market on the planet, what do we gain, if they who make the coat and the shirt lead the lives of galley slaves, and eat their bread in tears and despair, disease and filth? . . . It may be said that there is no necessary connection between great mechanical improvements and these social diseases and horrors. No *necessary* connection, perhaps, but there is a plain historical connection. Fling upon a people at random a mass of mechanical appliances which invite them to transform their entire external existence, to turn home work into factory work, hand work into machine work, man's work into child's work, country life into town life, to have movement, mass concentration, competition, where quiet individual industry had been the habit for twenty generations, and these things follow. Wherever the great steam system, factory system, unlimited coal, iron, gas and railway system has claimed a district for its own, there these things are." Again: "Rest and fixity are essential to thought, to social life, to beauty; and a growing series of mechanical inventions making life a string of dissolving views is a bar to rest and fixity of any sort. . . . And if this restless change weakens the thought, the culture and the habits of those who have leisure or wealth, it degrades and oppresses those who labor and suffer, for their old habits of life are swept away before the new habits of life are duly prepared; and the increased resources of society are found in practice to be increased opportunities for the skilful to make themselves masters of the weak."

Can any thinking man deny that this indictment, penned by an enemy of the Church and a believer in progress, is well drawn? And does it not go far to an-

swer the question, whether our industrialism be not a retrogression towards barbarism, in the affirmative? But it may be said, these evils have been and will be further mitigated. A mitigated evil, however, is not the same thing as a good! Granting for argument's sake that multifarious mechanical invention is a good, yet it is clear that one good may be so developed at the expense of others as to become an evil, a monstrosity, like a hypertrophied imagination or a man all stomach. Is not this precisely the case with Great Britain? Has she not sacrificed everything for industrial development? And is it not visibly preying upon her vitals? Other countries less far advanced upon the same road have still reserves of country population to fall back upon, though there, too, the *Landflucht* casts an ever-growing shadow, but not so the birthland of Cobden and Arkwright. Leo XIII corroborates the pagan sage, Aristotle, declaring that in every well-ordered state there should be a multitude of small farmers, and further, that artisans should be encouraged to acquire property in land.

"These commercial theorists, in their counting-houses and behind their ledgers, have forgotten the ethical and political character of land; how the existence of a rural population secure in their rustic homes is the natural foundation of earthly happiness and national morality; how, if no one is rooted to the soil, and everything like a bale of cotton is for unrestricted sale, it becomes a question what is the meaning of such words as country, fatherland, patriotism, or home, and whether in our commercial enlightenment it would not become as ridiculous to speak with emotion and affection of our native country and most dear fatherland, as to speak with emotion and affection of our native shirtings, hardware and breadstuffs."

The "murder of agriculture," as it has been well called, was watched with complacent indifference until its menace frightened even the politicians, who are loud with proposals of remedy but too absorbed in rival vote-catching to do anything serious to stay the disaster. Our invincible navy ruled all the seas, trade was booming and serious rivals undreamed of, a "free" press and "free" education were preparing the millennium, mankind, elated by their new-found monkey pedigree, had settled down to "science" and self-worship, and whether God was in His Heaven or not, all was right with the world, or on the way to become so. And so the wind was diligently sown all through the boastful decades with what results we now see and ought very easily to have fore-seen. But the hot-gospellers of "progress" were in possession and tickled the ears of the groundlings to such purpose that the few lonely champions of common-sense were driven to a dire life-long struggle with a nation gone mad. Carlyle's forcible arraignment of the "respectable professors of the dismal science" with their *Schwan'sche Weltansicht* was put down to indigestion; Ruskin's unswerving loyalty to religion, sanity, and honesty in life and art, in education and economics, was hooted down by "a dim horn-eyed generation" as unique dogmatism, effeminacy, and Utopianism. Newman's insistence on the eternal truths passed unheeded.

"Tyre of the West . . . Wielding Trade's master-keys, at  
thy proud will  
To lock or loose its waters, England! trust not still.  
. . . Thy nest is in the crags; ah! refuge frail!  
Mad council in its hour, or traitors will prevail."

"Nurtured in strong delusion, wholly believing a lie,"  
yet the nation can not remain altogether blind to the logic



of events, Heaven's light condensed in the form of lightning, as Carlyle called it, satirically adding "which there is no skull too thick for taking in." It is palpable that a "free" press and education have but called forth a degenerate, undisciplined half-taught mob, the prey of demagogues and catchwords, complicated now by the frenzy of female anarchists, "catching an opinion as it catches a cold," a manifest danger to all law and order. But what remedies can a non-Catholic society offer? Nothing but the merest palliatives. Artificial and often useless relief works will not restore agriculture, much less can divorce and despair be cured by technical education, or the impious horrors of eugenics or class hatred by discoveries in chemistry. Nor can any legislation reach the root of the matter and

"all that comes  
From the unwatered soul of man  
Gaping on God."

What is the use of physical discoveries without a happy and healthy people to make right use of them, of mechanical appliances become masters over slaves instead of servants of men, of inventions bearing fruit in dreadnoughts and other frightful means of destruction and bankruptcy, of steam ploughs to traverse manless fields, of an empire on which the sun never sets whose "lords" are lodged in "sweltering dog-holes," driven to rent their very breathing-spaces, owning no inch of land, for whom the sun and sky and sea exist in vain, their slave-labor relieved by pitiful parodies of recreation? What is the use of innumerable tramways and railways that only lead "from a dismal illiberal life at Islington to a dismal illiberal life at Camberwell? It is characteristic of the unthinking modern mind to exult because a ma-

chine is invented to make, say, 500 indifferent hats in the time it formerly took more and healthier men to make 15 well by hand, without dreaming of stopping to ask whether the hats are really wanted, or what has become of the dismissed workmen, or how it has affected those who remain. Immediate quantity and noisy change—these suffice to prompt the pæan and point the lamentation over those “backward” countries where the valleys yet laugh with corn, and blue skies yet overarch a healthy and contented peasantry, and distinction of rank consists with Christian courtesy.

It is hardly necessary, in view of all this, to apply in detail to modern industrialism the above-given test of the seven characteristics that constitute a society civilized. It could hardly be seriously maintained that we excel other societies except in mechanical appliances and physical research; and these are so monstrously overgrown as to threaten the life of the whole social organism. Secular education and long-fostered contempt of authority have undermined law and order, nor can any human resources long stay the advancing flood of anarchy. Retrogression to barbarism is sufficiently evident. Surely then it becomes us to ask whether we have not missed the true use of machinery and grown slaves to our own inventions; nay, even whether machinery on any wide scale be desirable at all? I am quite aware that this question will seem insane to many. Yet they will hardly claim that there was no civilization before, say 1750. It must be admitted therefore that civilization is possible without it. There are parts of Normandy, to go no further afield, where modern agricultural machinery is conspicuously absent. Go to Tivoli and you will find Virgil's wooden ploughs still in use, and, what

is more, you will be told that they have been found by experience to answer best. Surely, in any case, it is better to have a healthy family owning and tilling ten acres or even five *without* machinery than one hired laborer working there *with* it, at least from a Christian point of view. Here is a picture of the thirteenth century drawn by Mr. Harrison, no partial hand:

"It had great thinkers, great rulers, great teachers, great poets, great artists, great moralists, and great workers. . . . There was one common creed, one ritual, one worship, one sacred language, one Church, a single code of manners, a uniform scheme of society, a common scheme of education, an accepted type of beauty, a universal art, something like a recognized standard of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True."

Mr. Hyndman admits that the Middle Ages were the golden age of labor, and it is precisely in the "backward" regions of the world that the mediæval order with its unquestioning faith, its courtesy and content, chiefly lingers. Is it not possible then that the "backward" regions may be the preservers of true civilization, that "Christ's Folk in the Apennines" represent an altogether higher state of civilization than Berlin or Birmingham?

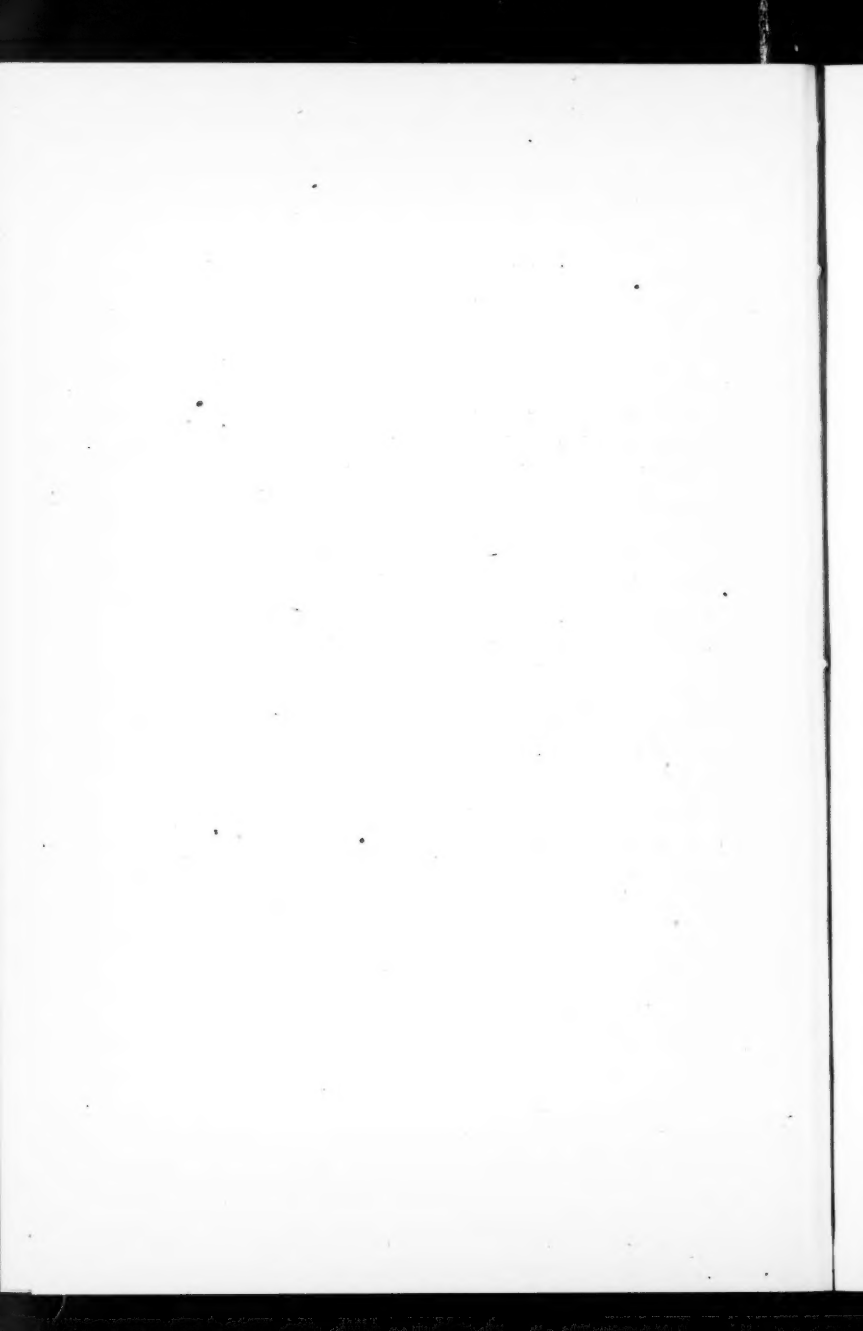
"The mode of life of the urban middle classes of England and France in the middle of the nineteenth century was looked on as a model for all classes, and those who lived otherwise to be more or less savages; and hence there was blindness to the beauty and dignity of the frugal and simple life of a God-fearing peasantry, with its few requirements but true culture and nobility, such as portrayed, for example, in the Spanish tales of Fernan Caballero. . . . Moreover, this admirable family life among the poor is not bought at the price of their

wits, but is highly favorable to their true intellectual culture. Just, for example, compare the mental and æsthetic conditions indicated by Mr. G. W. White's 'Songs of the Spanish Sierras,' 1894, or Mr. Douglas Hyde's 'Love Songs of Connaught,' or by Ruskin's 'Road-Side Songs of Tuscany,' or by the Breton Mystery Plays described in the *Times*, October 20th, 1898, with the nightly dramatic and musical performances attended by the poorer inhabitants of London, Paris, and New York."

Compare too, one might add, the manners of Berlin with those of Brittany. I will conclude by quoting a passage which, it seems to me, at once diagnoses the disease and points to the only remedy.

"Main tests of the social position of any community are the places held in it by women and children, by the indigent and the aged: and judged by these tests Christendom stands far above any previous organization of society. But its superiority appears to me to be hardly less clearly marked in its public polity, its literature, and its art, which were all informed by the same spirit. The notion of, unlimited dominion, of Cæsarism, autocratic or democratic, had no place among its political conceptions, which regarded authority as limited and fiduciary: nor did it allow of absolutism in property: the canon law expressly lays down that extreme necessity makes all things common, . . . that both clergy and laity are at all times bound to provide alms, as a duty of strict justice, even if need be by their own manual labor; for alms, in the words of St. Ambrose, are the *right* of the poor: and the giving of them rather to be regarded as the discharge of a debt than the extension of a voluntary bounty. In its literature, Dante sounds a deeper note than had gone forth from his master Virgil, and the very source of his

inspiration is the austere spiritualism of the Catholic creed. In its philosophy St. Thomas Aquinas surveys the field of human thought from a loftier standpoint than any sage of Greece or Rome . . . and it was from the Crucifix that the Angelic Doctor derived his intellectual light. . . . Mediæval art, even in its rudest stage, is informed by a higher ideal than ever dawned upon the mind of Hellenic painter or sculptor or architect: by the sentiment of the Infinite, revealed in the divinely human Person of the Man of Sorrows, the Son of the Mater Dolorosa. All that was great in that vanished public order which we call Christendom, flowed from the self-abnegation which is the central idea of Christianity. Singular paradox that. This new civilization, so rich, and fertile, and varied—the direct source of all that is highest and noblest in our own age, and in each of us—should have been the work of men whose first principle it was to despise the world: that the greatest democratic movement, the most potent instrument of human enfranchisement, should have been a doctrine which made so light of personal freedom as to bid the slave not care for its loss: that the most effectual vindication of the most sacred rights of humanity should be referable to teachers who spoke only of its duties. Sublime commentary upon the saying of the Author of Christianity: 'He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.' Strong assurance that 'He knew what was in man,' and that 'His words shall not pass away.'"



# **The Church and Secular Education**

By the REV. PETER FINLAY, S.J.,  
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of Ireland.

[Though portions of the following lecture are most applicable, of course, to a country where the primary and secondary education of all Catholics is practically in the hands of the Church, as is the case in Ireland, still the principles Father Finlay lays down and expounds are those on which our parochial school system is based and justified. This pamphlet should, therefore, prove a useful armory for American Catholics.]

It is not my intention to discuss the attitude of the Church towards the subject matter of secular education—towards science and the various branches of secular learning. Nor do I intend to put before you what the Church has done to promote the advancement of human knowledge by founding teaching orders of men and women, and by establishing schools and universities. That belongs properly to the domain of history. I propose dealing solely with the rights of the Church in the work of education—with the justice and the extent of her claim that the Catholic religion shall be allowed its due place in the education of all Catholics, and that the Church, as the sole divinely appointed guardian and teacher of the Catholic religion, be given her proper share in directing that education.

The Apostles were sent, and their successors, the bishops, are still sent, to preach the revealed law of

faith and morals, to minister the supernatural means of salvation, and to govern the mystical body of Christ—the Church which He established. Their mission, as we have had so frequently occasion to remark, is a wholly spiritual one. They have no call to pursue mere worldly objects, however, admirable in themselves, or to aim at merely temporal results. "It is not reason," the Apostles declared to the first disciples, "that we should forsake the Word of God and serve tables"; and St. Paul tells Timothy: "No man being a soldier to God entangleth himself in the affairs of this life." The interests of this present world—the attention, the time, the energy devoted to them—are so many hindrances to the primary work of the Church—to the only work indeed which she is directly commissioned to perform. She may busy herself, then, with temporal concerns, only when, and as far as, they are of help to her in her spiritual work: she sets no value on them for their own sake. And so she has no charge from her Founder to teach human letters. She is to "preach the Gospel"; and if she could preach it as effectively without taking any part in secular education, she would have no more right to build schools, or force her way into the schoolroom, than she has to build factories or railways, or to force her way into banks and chambers of commerce.

Her mission is to teach religion, to lead men to obey its precepts, and to avail themselves of its privileges. And, in the fulfilment of this mission, her authority is supreme. Others may, indeed, assist her; some even may be bound to take a share in the work. She encourages lay men and women to teach the catechism; she urges the teachers in our primary schools to give religious instruction; she in-



stitutes religious congregations of lay persons—nuns and brothers—to train the young in Christian knowledge and in Christian virtues. Parents are bound to provide themselves, or through others, for the up-bringing of their children in the true faith and in the practice of the moral law. Guardians lie under a similar obligation. And every Catholic, to whom opportunity is given, ought in charity to dispel religious prejudice and errors and help others towards the full possession of Catholic truth. But all this must be done in subordination to the Church. I do not say by commission or delegation from the Church; because parents, I conceive, have from God Himself the right and duty to bring their children up religiously. But it must be done according to the standards of belief and conduct which the Church authoritatively teaches, in the spirit of the Church, and in a very real sense under the Church's direction and control. For the Church has been empowered and appointed to "preach the Gospel to every creature." No one, young or old, whether tended and cared for in the most Catholic of homes, or neglected and abandoned on the highways of life, is excluded from the divine commission. The Church is to see to it that every man is taught to "observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you"; nay, more, she is herself obliged to teach him by her own ministers, if their services be required; and she must make sure that whoever teaches shall be fitted for the work and shall perform it satisfactorily. And no one may come between the Church and the fulfilment of the divine commission. Not the State, which has no authority to teach revealed religion; not even parents, who have, but who may not hinder the Church from verifying and completing the religious in-

struction which they themselves impart. If a father could lawfully shut out the Church's ministers from the training of his child on the ground even of his own entire sufficiency for the task, he could, so far, frustrate lawfully Christ's will and His express command. Besides, the Church, as we have seen, is an independent, organized society; with power, therefore, to legislate for her own members, within the scope of her objects and of her constitution. And what wiser and more legitimate use could she make of her authority than to prescribe how religion is to be interwoven with the lives of her people, how it is to be brought home to their intelligence and their hearts. She has done this in declaring Sundays and holidays to be days of rest and worship. She has done it in ordering that we shall assist at Mass on all such days. She does it when she enjoins Easter Communion, the Lenten and other fasts. She can do so, if she will, by appointing under what conditions and in what circumstances religion shall be taught. I do not mean, of course, that bishops or Pope may act unreasonably, may foolishly interfere with the ordinary tenor of domestic or civil life, may compel attendance at instruction in religion, or at religious exercises, in such places, at such times, or with such frequency as would disorganize society or gravely imperil its welfare. But, within rational limits—and it is for her to define what such limits are—she has the power we attribute to her. For these two reasons, therefore—both because of her divine commission and because of her inherent social authority, the Church has a right herself to teach religion to all her children, and to oversee and control religious teaching whenever and wherever others give it.

Now, there can be no doubt that at no period of life is religious teaching—understanding it in a wide sense as embracing beliefs, morals, discipline—more necessary than in childhood and in youth. The very object of religion is to unite man's conscious life with God in faith, love, obedience; and so no period of life, not even the earliest, should be excepted from its influence. Besides, both mind and heart and will are most impressionable in early years. There are no prejudices, no intellectual objections, to prevent or distort the reception of religious truth. The innate tendency of the child mind is to lean upon authority. There are no gross passions to stimulate rebellion against the moral law. It is, therefore, the age when religion is most readily accepted. And, further, it is the age when habits are most easily acquired; and there are no more important factors in life than good and evil habits; and there is no more powerful influence than religion in forming and developing those which are good, and in hindering or rooting out those which are evil. It is to the advantage even of the State that religion should enter largely into the lives of the young. A Catholic may be, and often is, a poor citizen; but a good Catholic is a good citizen; and a Catholic childhood and Catholic youth offer the best guarantee for genuine Catholicism in later years.

Hence the insistence of the Church that religion shall hold a large place in education, whether education be given in the home or in a public school. For education, as the very word implies, should be the drawing forth of what lies ready for development in man; and it should draw forth all that is good in him, more particularly what is best—not the animal qualities alone, not even imagina-

tion only, or intelligence or will. The ethical side of character should be the chief care of education; and there is no ethical training without religion. Reason, philosophy, positivism, utilitarianism, the cult of humanity—none of these things will habituate men to do right for right's sake, to aim earnestly and continuously at the ideals—imperfect and modest though they are—which human reason can set up. A few choice specimens of the race may become good men or women without revealed religion; though if even the best had to pass through the ordeal to which our saints and blessed are subjected in the process of canonization, the result would rarely satisfy their worshipers. But the mass of men are untouched by the ideals and the motives which rationalistic thinkers have devised: they need religion, with its personal God, a Father and a Redeemer, its divine sympathies and love, its rewards and punishments, its warnings, its encouragements, the abundant support and helps which it affords. How much they need them has been brought home to the Governments of France, Australia, and the United States, where religion has been banished from the public schools, and where instruction without religion has led to an enormous increase of crime, by developing intelligence and ability without any strengthening of moral character.

And hence, too, the claim of the Church that she shall be admitted into the school. It makes no matter of what kind the school is—in the home, in private academies, in public institutions; primary, secondary, or university: in all of them the work of education is carried on; religion is an integral part of education; and the Church is the one supreme guardian and teacher of religion. She has

a "right of entry," therefore, wherever religion is being taught. It is asserted frequently, I know, that a father has the right to bring up his child in the religion that he wills; and English law undoubtedly affirms, and will maintain, his legal right to do so. Nor can the English State act otherwise. It has no authority to judge between the claims of rival Christian bodies; it has no more right to tell a father in what religion he must educate his child than it has to tell him what religion he must himself profess. But it does not, therefore, follow that a man may instil religious error into his children's minds. The State may not interfere to hinder him if the error be tolerated as being practically harmless to the public welfare; it will even intervene to prevent others hindering him; but all this gives him no moral right whatever. He may not mutilate his child, he may not deform it in its bodily growth, he may not stunt its intellectual development: by what right, can it be conceived, may he teach it religious error? Error has no moral rights. A man has no moral right to teach a child—his own or any other—what is false in art or science, in history or in literature. He may hold himself entitled to do so; he may believe his errors to be truth; no one may have authority to forbid him; but he can not thereby acquire a right to do the child a wrong. And what greater wrong can he do him than to educate him in a false religion? The Church, therefore, has a right of access even to children in their homes; for they, too, are included in the divine commission: "Preach the Gospel to every creature." And if to children in their homes, much more to children in the schools. For religion ought to take first place in school instruction. It is far the

most important of all the subjects that can be taught. It is far more vital to the welfare, not merely of the individual, but of the State itself, that a child should be formed in school to be truthful, honest, honorable, temperate, laborious, obedient to authority, as religion alone can form him, than that he should learn to read and write and do problems in arithmetic. And unless they learn their religion in the school it is hard for the children of the masses to learn their religion at all. Parents have little time to teach them; too often parents are little fitted for the task. Then it is hard to gather them together again for common instruction when once they are dismissed from school. And the school program is supposed, and is generally found, to be sufficient intellectual labor for the child's day. But, even could opportunity be made for instruction in religion outside the hours of school, and were religion consequently to be excluded, the loss would be a very grave one. Religion can not, and must not, be a separate compartment in our lives, to be opened morning and evening and on Sundays. It should be an ever-present influence, pervading thought and word and action. It should provide motive and stimulus and standards in school life itself. And what must be the effect on the minds of the young when they see it banished from lessons, study, play? The system which shuts out God and His revelation from the visible life of the school tends to shut them out as well from the thoughts and affections of the scholars. Are they likely to love and reverence, as of supreme importance, what they see denied all place among the subjects which are deemed of moment in their education? Besides, it is practically impossible to exclude religion from the schools. Some few

things—pure mathematics, for example, formal logic, chemistry, and the like—may be taught without reference to religion. It would be even difficult to introduce a religious element into such teaching. But it would be just as difficult to avoid religion in lecturing on history, or ethics, or psychology. And in what might appear to be neutral territory, subjects such as English literature, the classics, biology, physiology, geology, and others, a teacher must exercise extreme care if he is not to touch upon religion; and the pleasure and spontaneity of teaching must largely disappear. Religion, therefore, ought not, and practically can not, be excluded from the schools; and if religion be admitted, the Church must be admitted also. For, as I have said and repeated, the Church is—I do not say the sole, but certainly the supreme religious teacher. None can teach religion, not even in the home, except under her authority; and wherever religion is taught, there she has a right of presence, supervision, correction, and admonition. And her mission and her right to teach religion does not stop short at the schoolhouse doors.

How far the Church has a right herself to establish schools for secular instruction is another question. It will be conceded generally that she may educate even in secular subjects her candidates for the priesthood. But may she claim to educate laymen also if they choose to seek secular instruction from her? She has her own schools of religious teaching—the churches. May she join on to them other schools in which profane knowledge is cultivated and taught? Can the State prevent her: for it is quite clear no private person can? The State, I think, has no monopoly in education, can make

no valid claim to one. It may, indeed, insist on a general minimum of instruction—that minimum which is necessary for the reasonable well-being and the progress of the State. Its authority is conditioned by the objects it must aim at, and the means which are necessary to attain them; and in our day a general diffusion of elementary knowledge is believed, rightly or wrongly, to conduce not a little to the common welfare, and to be essential to social progress. If that be so, the State could require of all parents to provide such elementary knowledge for their children; could be heedful that its requirement was complied with; could inspect, examine and compel defaulters to obey. And if parents neglect or are unable to educate their children, the State can take their place and make provision. It offers public assistance to the sick and needy who are unable to assist themselves; it may do the same for the children of the poor, for whom no one else has care. But I do not see how it can compel a father to send his child to school if he provides suitable education for it at home, or how it can force a father to select one school in preference to another if the school which he selects gives all the education which the State requires. Subject to certain reservations, which I shall refer to shortly, and with which the State has no concern, and subject to the State right of testing for the minimum which it demands, a parent may teach his child himself, or may make choice of whatever teacher he prefers. To limit his freedom, to dictate to him whom he may employ, whom he shall not employ, however satisfactory the educational results may be, is tyranny; it might as well dictate to him from whom he may, or shall not, purchase the child's food and dress. The Church,



therefore, I conceive, has a right, as against the State, to establish schools for secular instruction, since the State neither has, nor can create, any educational monopoly. She may even be obliged, if the interests of religion require it, to open schools. Under an irreligious, atheistic Government, such as that of the present French Republic, which utilizes its public school system to root out the Faith from the hearts of the people, the Church would seem bound, so far as State violence permits, to set up a school system of its own. Such, too, would appear to be the case where religion is banished from the public schools, as in Australia, though no active hostility is shown to it.

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The Church may also claim to have a voice in the appointment of the teachers. In the case of those who teach religion her right of interference appears to be unquestionable. A priest can not preach, a catechist can not publicly teach catechism, no one may carry on a public religious controversy, without her sanction and approval. If the genuine Gospel of Christ, the revealed doctrines of faith and morals, are to be preserved pure and unadulterated among the faithful, it can not be open to every one who chooses, however ignorant or otherwise unsuited he may be, to assume the office of religious teacher, and to set forth his own individual views as the beliefs or dogmas of the Church. And if "no one may take unto himself the honor unless he be called," and if, as is evident, the call must be an official one, not left to the imagination or personal conviction of him who receives it, it is clear that it is the Church, and the Church only, who can give it. And so the appointment of those who teach religion

in our public schools would seem to lie of right within the authority of the Church. Not, perhaps, that the Church can claim to select the teacher, but that no teacher may be selected whom the Church does not judge qualified for the duty, and to whose selection she does not expressly or tacitly give approval; which is, practically, to acknowledge the right of veto on the teacher. And, on the same grounds on which she might justly object to an appointment, she clearly may require a teacher's dismissal. Indeed, it may be maintained that a similar authority extends to all the teachers of our Catholic youth, whatever be the subjects they profess, whose lives, lessons, or personal intercourse are seriously injurious to the religion—and by religion I mean faith, morals, and practical conduct—of the students. The Church may surely claim their removal from their office?

Then, further, she may intervene in the choice of school books. A man teaches by the printed page as effectively as by the living voice; and, if the Church may exercise a veto on the selection, and may demand the removal of the teacher himself upon religious grounds, she may clearly do the same when there is question of his teaching through his books. Indeed, books may do far more hurt than the author personally could have done: they reach students whom his voice could never reach; they pass onwards through generations; they may be ever close at hand, to be read and re-read; they often seem to gain authority from the mere fact of passing through the press. It would be folly to claim the right of controlling moral and religious teaching in the schools, if there were no power to exclude books that cause grievous injury to morals or religion.

And if it be asked in whom do all these powers rest, the answer, on Catholic principles, is obvious: directly and immediately in the diocesan bishop. The government of the Catholic Church is, by divine institution, episcopal; and the bishop, in union with and subordination to the Holy See, is Christ's representative and the visible embodiment of His authority to the faithful of his diocese. It is for the bishop, therefore, on his own responsibility and for his own people, or in council with his brother bishops for a province or a nation, or with the Holy See for the universal Church, to determine how far any educational system is in accordance with Catholic religious principles, what part the Church should have in the secular education of Catholics, and what concrete safeguards are sufficient and should be adopted for the protection of the faith and morals of Catholics, during the course of their education. Such has been the action of the French bishops lately, when they condemned the actual working of the State primary school system, and proscribed a series of irreligious books which the Government had introduced into the schools.

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But to claim such powers, it may be objected, is mere extravagance. The claim, if conceded, would place the education of the nation at the mercy of the Church, would hand over the whole training of a country's youth to the control of priests and bishops. Even were the objection true, I am not sure that the threatened consequences should greatly be regretted. The clerical schools and universities of pre-Reformation times—Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Padua, and the like—need fear no comparison with the institutions which succeeded them,

either in their methods of work, or in the men—scholars, statesmen, citizens—whom they produced, if we bear in mind the difference of time and other circumstances. And the clerical schools and the clerical University of Louvain have governed Belgium for the last twenty-five years, and have made her one of the best educated and most prosperous countries in Europe. But the objection is not true. To give the Catholic Church her due place in a national educational system is not to give secular education into the hands of the Church. It is to do just two things: to allow the Church to fulfil her divinely-appointed mission as teacher of revealed religion, in the school itself; and to provide for Catholic children such teachers, books, and other school surroundings, as are not in the Church's judgment gravely hurtful to Catholic Faith or Christian morals. That some abuses would arise is more than probable. God's wisest decrees and best gifts are open to abuse, if they do not actually invite it. Free-will makes sin possible, as the Holy Eucharist does sacrilege. But liability to abuse is no argument against the goodness of God or the authority which for our sake He has bestowed upon His Church. Besides, the secular State is more than a corrective in modern times for any abuse that could possibly occur. We need only examine the working of the board school and secondary systems in England, and of the primary public school in the United States of America, to see how even Governments that make profession of an impartial liberality, so far from conniving at any clerical usurpation, deny the plainest rights of the Catholic Church and of Catholics. In any case, whatever the danger or likelihood of abuse, or the impatience with which our claims may be rejected

as preposterous, and however the Church may tolerate at times a condition of things which she is powerless to alter, the rights of the Church, as we have drawn them out, are inherent in her constitution, and though she does not always press them she never can renounce them.

And so Pius IX, in the 45th proposition of the Syllabus, condemned the doctrine that "the whole management of the public schools in which the youth of a Christian State are being educated may and should—if we except in a measure the episcopal seminaries—be assigned to the civil authority; and so assigned that no right shall be acknowledged in any other authority to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the ordering of the studies, the conferring of degrees, the selection and approval of the masters." And, again, in the 48th: "Catholics may approve that manner of educating youth which is divorced from the Catholic faith and from the authority of the Church, and which aims solely, or at least primarily, at a knowledge of natural things only and at the objects of an earthly social life." In very similar words he condemns the same error in the 47th proposition, and in the Encyclical "*Quanta Cura*" itself, which was published with the Syllabus. I do not, of course contend that these condemnations by the Holy Father constitute a definition of faith; and that the Church's educational rights, as set forth in the Encyclicals and in the Syllabus, must be admitted and maintained by Catholics, under pain of heresy. But there can be no doubt that, as the Pope himself declared, and as the bishops throughout the Church profess, by their acceptance of it, the Syllabus is to be regarded as a practical formula of Catholic teaching on the points with which it deals, and, therefore, the statements I have

quoted from it may be taken as expressing the considered mind of the Church, from which no loyal Catholic may deliberately dissent.

And, in all that has been said, we have been dealing with the Church's constitutional rights. In recent controversies on primary education in England some Catholic advocates have urged the Church's claims, on the ground that the Catholic clergy are deputed by Catholic parents to teach their children, in school as out of school, the Catholic religion. It may be a prudent position to take up in view of Protestant prejudice and dislike of the claims which we put forward. But it is a distinct minimizing of our case. The Church and the clergy are not deputed by parents to teach religion to their children; they are deputed by Christ Himself. And the Church claims admission to the schoolroom, not as a representative of parents, but as the minister, and with the authority of Christ. Even were parents to set the clergy aside and to appoint other representatives, the Divine rights of the Church would remain unchanged and undiminished.

## **Tercentenary of St. Teresa**

*Apostolic Letter of Our Holy Father Pope Pius X.*

To our beloved son Clement of SS. Faustinus and Jovita, Superior General, and to the entire Order of Discalced Carmelites.

POPE PIUS X.

Beloved Sons, Health and the Apostolic Benediction. Since the time when We, though most unworthy, have been raised by the goodness of God to the Chair of Peter, We have considered it an important duty of Our Apostolic office, whenever an occasion presented itself of solemnly honoring any children of the Church who were distinguished for their splendid virtues, their eminent doctrine, and their glorious deeds, to avail Ourselves of such an opportunity with all diligence. Seeing that the minds of men are influenced by deeds much more than by words, We have ever been convinced that Our aim of restoring all things in Christ could not be promoted so much by exhortations as by holding up the example of those who made the imitation of Christ their earnest study and reproduced in themselves with admirable fidelity the likeness of His holiness. For this reason, on the solemn anniversaries of Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom, and Anselm of Aosta, We published Letters filled with their praises; and lately we celebrated in like manner the third centenary of the canonization of Charles Borromeo.

A solemnity of the same sort, beloved sons, will fall to the lot of your renowned Order in next April, which

will be the 300th anniversary of the Decree of Paul V conferring the title of Blessed on your Mother and law-giver, Teresa. In a general assembly of your Order lately, it has been reported to Us, you had the matter under consideration, and you are making diligent preparation to celebrate the anniversary of the joyous event with sacred ceremonies and to offer her in many ways marks of grateful homage. Your pious intentions have our hearty approval, and in the name of the entire Church We gladly associate Ourselves with you in your rejoicings. For the virgin of Avila is an ornament and light to the whole Catholic world, and is by no means the least amongst its illustrious ones. "The Lord so filled her with the spirit of wisdom and intellect and with the treasures of His grace, that, as a star in the firmament, her splendor will shine in the house of God for all eternity" (Bull of Canonization). Thus spoke Pope Gregory XV about St. Teresa. And how truthfully! For this saintly woman has been of so much service in instructing the faithful in the way of salvation that she would seem to be little, if at all, beneath these great Fathers and Doctors of the Church whom We have named.

It is remarkable how she was gifted by nature for her heavenly office of instructress in the ways of virtue. Her marvelously keen intellect, her noble and generous soul, her sure judgment, her prudence in dealing with people and in business affairs, no less than her sweet disposition and pleasant manner, won for her the affections of every one. But her natural endowments were altogether eclipsed by her supernatural gifts. Although among her contemporaries were many persons distinguished for their holiness of life and knowledge of things divine—so that that period may justly be called the golden age of Cath-



olic Spain—it must be admitted that Teresa combined in herself the virtues and gifts of all that pious band whom she numbered among her intimate friends and advisers.

It would take long, and we do not intend, to describe the many excellences of this illustrious woman. But we judge it most opportune to set before you, beloved children, some considerations about her virtues—they will be to you a source of profitable meditation, and, through you, a source of instruction to Christians.

In the first place, seeing that those things which exceed the compass of the human reason and lie outside the narrow circle of nature, are nowadays regarded lightly by so many, or even contemptuously thrust aside as worthless, it will be useful to investigate the strong faith of Teresa. Since faith is "the substance of things to be hoped for," that is, the root (as it were) of the divine heavenly life in man, and the foundation on which the whole fabric of Christian perfection is built, it wins our admiration to see to what an extent Teresa lived by faith and was guided by it alone in all her counsels, her words, her deeds. None showed more loyal obedience to the Church, the mistress of truth; none clung to its doctrines more unswervingly. Not only was she unshaken by the wiles of heretics and the deceits of the devil, but she stated in writing that if an angel or a voice from heaven should propose anything to her belief which was not conformable to the doctrine of the Church, she would never in any way believe it. And, further, we know that she was ready to face a thousand deaths, if need be, in defence of the faith. To her nothing was clearer or more evident than the truth of the Christian dogmas; indeed, the more inscrutable they were to human intelligence, the more whole-heartedly did she assent to them.

Therefore, when she approached the Adorable Sacrament, her mind seemed absorbed as if all her affections were wrapt in contemplation of this great mystery. As the same Pope Gregory, Our predecessor, says: "She beheld so clearly in the Blessed Eucharist, with the eyes of her mind, the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that she asserted that she was not in the least envious of those who beheld Our Lord with the eyes of the body" (Bull of Canonization). In reward for her faith it was granted to her, as far as it is possible to the human mind in this mortal life, both to penetrate the secrets of God, even the profoundest and those most removed from human perception and intelligence, and to interpret and explain them with ease. And in this respect it seemed to those whom she chose as her spiritual directors that she might reasonably be compared to Moses who was privileged to enjoy the presence and conversation of God.

Who has not heard how ardently she longed to share this gift of faith with those who had it not? While still only a child, she conceived the design and formed plans for crossing to Africa, to give to those savage peoples "the Christ or her blood" (Brev. Hymn). Being thwarted in her intention, she wept for the pitiable condition of pagans and heretics all her life long, and was filled with holy envy of those who led men back from the darkness of error and sin to the light of truth and holiness. Hindered by her sex and condition of life from taking part in apostolic labor, she put on the spirit of Elias, and undertook what is called the apostleship of prayer and penance. To this end, since she was unable to join in the work of spreading the faith, she set herself to practise the evangelical counsels with all her might, convinced that the more she advanced in holiness the

more acceptable to God would be her prayers for the spread of Christianity and the salvation of souls. Finally, her desire of defending the Christian Doctrine and making it known may be gathered from the importance which she attached to the Catechism; there was no book which she wished her daughters to take up more frequently or read more diligently.

Another of the chief glories of Teresa, which deserves particular mention because it is so opposed to the spirit of the age, was her singular love for her Lord Jesus. It is regrettable that men have blotted out of memory the answer which Christ gave to His apostles when they inquired the way that would lead them to God; Christ replied: "I am the way and the truth and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by Me" (John XIV, 6). How completely this was forgotten by those who were called Quietists, and by some innovators of that sect! But it was deeply impressed on the mind and soul of this holy virgin. Therefore, whatever benefits she received from God, she attributed them to Christ; whatever good she sought from God, she sought it from Christ. She made Christ her sole Master by Whom to regulate her daily actions, her sole Guide to lead her up the heights of divine contemplation. All who entertained the like feelings towards Christ, she called most happy; all others she regarded as most wretched, because of their want of faith. And her manner of life accorded well with her sentiments; for the one object of her endeavors was to order her life after the example of Jesus Christ, and by imitating Him to engrave His image more and more on her soul so that she might truly say with the Apostle:

- \* "To me, to live is Christ; and to die is gain" (Philip I, 21).

Having such a Master for her rule of life, she learned promptly to forsake the things of earth, and with earnestness to purify her soul from even slight blemishes and adorn it with virtue. Thus she steadily progressed until she was so fashioned after the image of her Lord that whatever hardships, cares, and sorrows He suffered while on earth, and whatever joys and consolations were His, all these Teresa likewise experienced by the force of that love which so intimately united her to Him. And since it is an effect of charity that, while it inflames the soul, it at the same time quickens and enlightens the mind. Teresa was so far favored by God that she not only beheld the abundant and most perfect virtue of the Christ Man, but she was admitted by contemplation to the inmost mysteries of the Word of God; still more, she was made worthy to have disclosed to her not a few of the secrets of the Adorable Trinity, and to be addressed by the Son of God with the words: "Henceforth thou shalt, like a true spouse, be zealous for My honor; for now I am all thine, and thou art all Mine."

How faithful she was to the obligations of this compact there is no need to say. Until this time she had indeed disregarded self and ever aimed at advancing the interests of Christ, but from now until her death she lived wholly and entirely for Christ. We would direct special attention to the way in which her desire for promoting the greater glory of her Spouse influenced her attitude towards two things, the greatest that the infinite love of Jesus conceived, and which ought to be most dear to the heart of everyone, since He instituted the one as His last gift to man and the other when expiring on the Cross—we mean the Blessed Eucharist and the Church.

Who has ever praised more grandly than she did the

wisdom and goodness of God in instituting this Sacrament, in which He accommodated Himself marvelously to our littleness and gave expression to His love, and ordained for ever the Sacrifice by which He ransomed the human race? Who hungered after this Bread of Angels so insatiably? For at a time when even pious souls did not approach the Holy Table frequently, Teresa approached it daily, and with such eagerness that it seemed as if not even armed men could restrain her from partaking of the Sacred Banquet. Who was more sadly grieved than she to behold men's indifference and irreverence towards this Sacrament? Who was more zealous in atoning for the injuries offered to this mystery of immense love? And she unceasingly urged her daughters likewise to make fervent reparation. On one occasion, unable to bear the torture which racked her, she earnestly besought God either to end at once the shameful wickedness of these ungrateful men or to destroy the earth altogether.

And then, too, see her love for the Church, the Mother of all Christians! She used to say that no one can really love God without being as zealous for the spread of Christ's Church as for the glory of Christ Himself. What staunch loyalty she showed in all matters to that Church of which she was so devoted a daughter! And how lavishly she extolled the authority given to the Church by Christ its Founder! Indeed, the high estimation in which she—a woman so endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and enjoying such familiar friendship with God—held those instruments of Divine grace called sacramentals, may appear to superficial minds to have been excessive; and it is certainly astonishing that she expressed her willingness to undergo a thousand deaths on behalf of these or the least of the rites of holy Church.

Again, it did not escape her discerning judgment and heavenly wisdom that the prosperity or adversity of the Church depends in large part on its ministers' holiness of life and that much more is accomplished for the salvation of souls by one priest who lives up to the obligations of his high office than by a large number of indifferent priests. Therefore, while she pours out tears at beholding the Church buffeted by violent storms and so many souls rushing to eternal perdition, she at the same time tries to win from God by her austerity of life, manifold bodily chastisements, and humble, persevering prayer that the Church shall have an abundant supply of priests well disciplined in learning and the virtues befitting their state, and while they labor for the salvation of others that they may not imperil their own.

Teresa, however, was not content to work for this object singlehandedly. Since it is the nature of charity to spread its beneficent power to as many others as possible, she gathered others around her to be her helpers and to transmit to them her zeal and mode of life. "Having effectually conquered the flesh by perpetual virginity, and the world by remarkable humility, and the snares of the devil by her many excellent virtues, she then roused herself to higher achievements, and putting off the weakness of her sex by force of her noble mind, she girded about her loins with strength, and strengthened her arm, and enrolled an army of brave souls who would wage holy combat for the house of the God of Sabaoth and His law and commandments" (Bull of Canonization). Spurred on by the double spirit of Elias, and divinely leagued with your holy father St. John, she undertook to bring back the illustrious Order of which she was a member to its primitive rigor. A mighty task, surely, and

one of no easy achievement! Yet, as it is well known, she speedily brought her design to a happy consummation. Thus it came to pass, chiefly through the exertions of Teresa, that the world of that time was afforded the astonishing spectacle of an immense number of persons who, withdrawing themselves from the busy world and entering into the service of God, emulated the ancient anchorites of Mount Carmel and the Thebaid by a manner of life most rigorous in its discipline, but tempered by all the sweetness of heavenly contemplation; and whatever their contemplation taught them which would be serviceable in leading souls to eternal life, all this they shared with others either by that apostleship of penance and prayer of which We have spoken or by diligent discharge of the sacred ministry. It has long been known to Us that you, beloved sons, still uphold those high ideals which have been handed down to you, and have not relaxed from the spirit of St. Teresa; for We have had intimate personal acquaintance with your Order for a very long time. And We now seize the opportunity afforded Us of giving public expression to the good will We deservedly entertain for both the sons and daughters of your great Mother. Sufficient praise, indeed, can never be given to the manner of life embraced by those young women who exchange the wealth, renown, and pleasures of the world for the simplicity of the Cross, and shutting themselves up in the silence of holy retirement, are consumed with the fire of charity, pleasing victims to God on the altar of Christian penance; there day and night they unceasingly make intercession for that world which knows them not. Equally estimable is the life of the friars, who are not so much occupied in divine contemplation as to take no share in the active life, but attend to both in due order,

and, gathering the good odor of Christ within the cloister by training themselves in virtue, spread it around them outside for the benefit of others. Therefore, beloved children, strive not only to hold fast to the alliance of contemplation and action marked out by your predecessors, but make it flourish and grow vigorous among you. For in these days more than ever the Church has need of sacred ministers who will combine close union with God with active love for men—priests such as your holy Mother Teresa so desirously longed for.

Lastly, since the yearning for novelties, which is in evidence more than ever to-day, has invaded even the field of ascetical and mystical theology, all must see the importance of jealously guarding St. Teresa's teaching in both these spheres. For "God Almighty so filled her with the spirit of understanding that she not only bequeathed to the Church the example of her good works, but she bedewed it with the heavenly wisdom of her treatises on mystical theology and other pious writings" (Bull of Canonization). Whoever wishes to lead a life of holiness, let him but study these, and he will have need of no others. For in them this renowned mistress of piety points out a safe path of Christian life from its inception up to the consummation and perfection of virtue; she sets down accurately the ways best suited for correcting vicious habits, quelling boisterous passions, and effacing the defilements of sin; and she puts before the reader every enticement to virtue. And in explaining all these matters, she at once shows her admirable knowledge of things Divine, and gives proof of her intimate acquaintance with the nature of the human soul, its recesses, and its inner workings. In this great knowledge of human infirmity, which inclined her tender heart so exceedingly



to mercy, and still more in the ardor of her charity, is to be sought her characteristic strength of prayer and gentleness of manner, which exert such wonderful influence on men's minds. As Our predecessor, Leo XIII, of happy memory, speaking of St. Teresa's writings, says beautifully: "They have a force, more heavenly than human, which rouses one marvelously to a better life, so that their reading is most profitable not alone to those engaged in the direction of souls and those who tread the highest paths of virtue, but also to everyone who is at all concerned about the duties and virtues of Christian life—in other words, who is anxious about his salvation" (Letter to Fr. Bouix, S.J., 17th March, 1883). As regards mystical theology, Teresa discourses about those higher regions (as it were) of the spiritual life with such ease that there she seems to be in her proper sphere. There is not one secret of that life which she does not penetrate and disclose to us. Advancing through all the degrees of contemplation, she reaches such sublime heights as are inaccessible to all except those who have experienced and are acquainted with the divinest affections of the soul. Yet she says not one word which conflicts with exact Catholic theology; and she sets out everything with such facility and clearness that the most distinguished doctors of her day were astonished to find the mystical theology which was vaguely taught by the Fathers of the Church here and there through their works, gathered together by this saintly woman and arranged systematically. For our own part, when We review the errors which are so prevalent in these matters at the present day, We consider specially important not only the accuracy with which Teresa, when describing the mystical motions of the soul, distinguishes between the

human element and the divine, and marks off precisely the functions of the intellect from those of the will, but also her insistence on the need of these motions being accompanied by the exercise of all the virtues. Her teaching is that the several degrees of prayer are so many steps up the ascent of Christian perfection; that a man's progress in prayer is chiefly discernible in a more faithful discharge of his duties and increased zeal in sanctifying his life; finally, that the more one is joined in mystical union with God, the more fervent becomes his love for his neighbor and his solicitude for the welfare of souls. Whoever will reflect on these teachings of St. Teresa will come to understand how deservedly writers on these difficult subjects have acknowledged her as a master and have followed her guidance, and furthermore, with what justice the Church pays to this virgin the honors given to Doctors, and in the liturgy prays God "that we may be nourished by the food of her heavenly doctrine and instructed by the ardor of her tender piety." Would that those who now write about what they call mystical psychology would make up their minds to follow in the footsteps of this great mistress!

We have here, beloved children, touched on the principal things that redound to the glory of St. Teresa. When published broadcast by you, they should help much to increase devotion to her among the people and to add distinction to the pious celebrations you are about to hold. For it is much to be desired that St. Teresa should be known and esteemed among all devout people—she who, as is clear from what we have written, "shone as a brilliant star in Carmel, and adorned the Catholic Church by the virtues of her angelic life, her writings of heavenly wisdom, and her numerous children who so

faithfully follow the example left them by their great mother and mistress" (Letter of Leo XIII to the Bishop of Salamanca).

In order that both you and others may reap greater benefit from the coming celebrations, We grant a plenary indulgence from their sins, to be gained four times during the present year, 1914, to all who shall fulfil the usual conditions imposed by the Church, and shall visit either individually, or in procession, any one of the following churches: either the Carmelite church at Avila, in the place of St. Teresa's birth; or that of the Discalced Carmelites at Avila, where she began the reform of the Order; or that of the Calced Carmelites at Avila, where she lived for so long a time; or that of the Discalced Carmelites at Alba, where her holy body rests.

We further grant a Plenary Indulgence, to be gained once only, to all who shall visit any church or public or semi-public oratory of the first, second, or third Order of Carmelites during the time that the triduum or novena is being held in these churches or oratories.

Meanwhile, in token of heavenly favors, and in witness of our good-will, We most lovingly impart to you, beloved Son, and to all the children of St. Teresa, Our Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 7th of March, the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the year 1914, the eleventh of Our Pontificate. POPE PIUS X.

## II

### **An Address of the Holy Father**

[The Allocution pronounced by His Holiness in the secret Consistory of May 25th, 1914, when fourteen new cardinals were created:]

Venerable Brothers:

Not much time has passed since last We spoke to you, Venerable Brothers, met together in Sacred Consistory. Still in this brief interval there have passed away, one after the other, not a few members of the Sacred College, many of whom Our eyes still look for in their wonted posts. While, however, We grieve for the loss of men deservedly most dear to Us, it may be said that We grieve rather for Ourselves than for them; for they have gone where, as We hope, they already enjoy in eternal beatitude the reward of their holy lives consecrated to the good of the Church, while We, deprived of their aid and untiring work, are still amid the storms of life. Wherefore, We have called you together, Venerable Brothers, not only to provide for the churches deprived of their pastors, but also to fill the seats vacant in your College, as it is most right to give companions and helpers in bearing the weight of your charge to you who strive so diligently to render less heavy Our Apostolic Office. And it is all the more right, inasmuch as, if We look at the course of events, We see continuing for the Church days of exceeding trouble, for pernicious doctrines are creeping everywhere, corrupting the faith and customs of the Christian people, and We are daily constrained to undergo the attacks of men who decry the supreme dominion of God and drive religion out of civil society. Nevertheless, by the Grace of God most merciful, there are not wanting to Us timely comforts: as in the year just passed, when was celebrated the centenary of the Edict of Constantine the Great, by which the Church after so many trials and agonies breathed again and began to enjoy in peace the benefits of liberty. We had, indeed, reason to rejoice in the

religious manifestations celebrated so magnificently and with such a concourse of people, by which the Catholic world boldly proclaimed its faith and seemed, by raising up in its hands the Cross of Christ, to wish to show it to the troubled human race as the one fount of peace and safety. To-day more than ever they seek for peace, and, indeed, We see classes of citizens, races, nations fighting among themselves, and from the enmities ever becoming more intense among them We see break out of a sudden fearful wars. True, there are clever and distinguished statesmen who put before themselves the good of nations, and, indeed, of human society, and seek by common agreement for the means of arresting the harm that comes from the strife of classes and the slaughters of war, and of securing within and without their borders the benefits of peace. These, without doubt, are excellent endeavors, but their counsels will bear little fruit unless at the same time they can ensure that the precepts of justice and Christian charity are deeply rooted in souls. To-day peace or war in society and in the State do not depend so much on the governors as on the multitudes. Deprived of the light of truth revealed by God, unused to the discipline of the laws of Christ, what wonder if the multitudes, the prey of blind passions, rush to their common ruin, instigated by clever agitators who seek nothing but their own advantage? Yet with the Church constituted by its Divine Founder, mistress of truth, guardian of justice and charity, alone and above all other things able to lead men to their common salvation, would it not be a work of civil wisdom on the part of rulers, not only to allow it to exercise its mission freely and without hindrance, but also to give it every assistance? And yet it is the opposite that happens; for

generally the Church is treated, not as the creator and parent of all that forms the essence of civilization, but almost as if it must be regarded as the enemy of the human race. Still this should not disquiet Us; from the example of Christ We know that the Church is destined to do so much good as it receives injuries in return, as, too, we know well that never, even in its greatest tribulations, can the Divine help fail it, and of that We have Christ Himself as sponsor and history as witness. It is exactly a hundred years since Rome in triumph, amid the joy of the whole world, received its Pontiff freed from the insults of a long captivity. All could then admire the constancy of the holy, aged Pontiff, as if crowned with the aureole of martyrdom, who, alone, had resisted and overcome the arrogance of the all-powerful autocrat. But far greater marvel was the fact, which could not be seen most clearly at that time, of that aid which Christ Himself had promised for ever to His Spouse; for Pius VII would never have come through such adversities had not the Divine Preserver of the Church freed him, contrary to the expectation of all. But to return. We have decided, therefore, to elevate to the honor of your College, Venerable Brothers, several illustrious personages, who in the Episcopal Office, or in the Offices of the Church in Rome, or in other fields, have borne their charge in a way worthy of Our highest approbation. They are:

Antonius Mendez Bello, Patriarch of Lisbon, whom We created Cardinal of Holy Roman Church and reserved *in pectore* in the Consistory of November 27, 1911.

Victorianus Guisasola y Menendez, Archbishop of Toledo.

Ludovicus Nazarius Bégin, Archbishop of Quebec.

Dominicus Serafini, Titular Archbishop of Seleucia,  
Assessor of the Holy Office.

Jacobus della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna.

Franciscus de Bettinger, Archbishop of Munich and  
Freising.

Joannes Csernoch, Archbishop of Strigonia.

Hector Irenaeus Sévin, Archbishop of Lyons.

Felix de Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne.

Gustavus Piffl, Archbishop of Vienna.

Scipio Tecchi, Assessor of the S. Consistorial Con-  
gregation.

Philippus Giustini, Secretary of the S. Congregation  
of the Sacraments.

Michael Lega, Dean of the Auditors of the S. R. Rota.

Aidanus Gasquet, President of the English Congrega-  
tion of the Benedictines.

[To the address that His Eminence Cardinal Bégin,  
Archbishop of Quebec, later delivered in his own name  
and on behalf of his colleagues, the Holy Father re-  
plied:]

The heavy grief felt for the loss of so many excellent  
Cardinals since the Consistory of 1911 has been in some  
degree tempered by the comfort of being able to fill the  
void, enrolling you, my beloved sons, last Monday in the  
Sacred College. The prerogatives of piety, doctrine and  
zeal which distinguish you, and above all the devotion  
which you profess to the Holy Apostolic See, are an  
assurance to me that you will give me valid aid in main-  
taining intact the deposit of the Faith, in preserving  
ecclesiastical discipline, and in resisting the insidious at-  
tacks made on the Church, not so much by open enemies,  
but more particularly by its own children. To the in-  
domitable firmness of our fathers, to their unceasing

watchfulness, to their jealous care and their, I would almost say, virginal delicacy in matters of doctrine, is due the triumph of the Church through all perils and all attacks brought against it in the course of centuries; but never, perhaps, at any time was it so necessary to watch this sacred deposit, that its integrity and purity may be maintained. We are unfortunately living in a time when certain ideas of conciliation of the Faith with the modern spirit are looked on with favor and readily adopted—ideas which lead much farther than men think, not only to the enfeebling, but to the total loss of the Faith. No longer to-day is any surprise felt at hearing men play with the vague phrases of modern aspirations, the force of progress and civilization, affirming the existence of a lay conscience, a political conscience opposed to the conscience of the Church, against which they claim the right and duty to react, to correct it, to bring it into the right path. It is no new thing this, that is seen in men who put forward doubts and uncertainties about the truths, and even obstinate affirmations about manifest errors a hundred times condemned, and who, this notwithstanding, persuade themselves that they have never left the Church, because once they followed Christian practices. Ah! How many sailors, how many pilots, and—which God forbid—how many captains, putting their trust in the profane novelties and in lying science of the time, instead of arriving in harbor have suffered shipwreck!

Amid such dangers I have not failed on every occasion to make my voice heard, to recall the erring, to point out the evils, to trace the road for Catholics to follow. But my words, however clear and distinct, have not always been well understood and interpreted. Indeed, not a few, following the evil example of the enemy who sows tares



in the field of the Lord to bring into it confusion and disorder, have not hesitated to give arbitrary interpretations to them, attributing to them a meaning quite contrary to that desired by the Pope and taking his prudent silence for sanction.

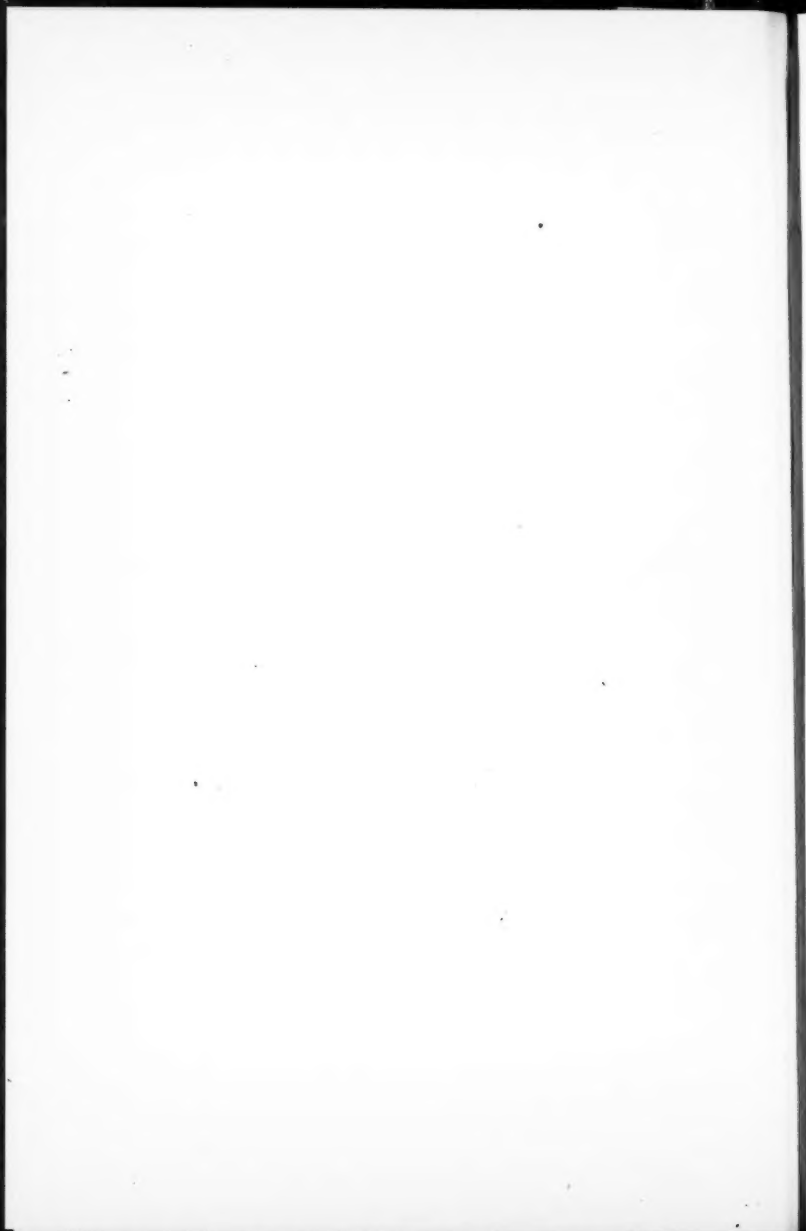
Realizing these unhappy facts I have indeed need of the strong and efficacious help of your work, my beloved sons, both in the various dioceses to which you are returning with Papal dispensation and in the Roman Curia and Congregations, that, by the dignity to which you are raised, united to the Pope in mind and heart, you may be among the first defenders of sound doctrine, the first teachers of the truth, heralds of the true wishes of the Pope. Preach to all, but especially to ecclesiastics and other religious, that there is nothing so displeasing to Our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore to His Vicar, as discord in matter of doctrine, for by disunion and strife Satan ever triumphs and gains dominion over the redeemed. In order to preserve union in integrity of doctrine warn priests especially against associating with persons whose faith is suspect, and against reading books and journals—I do not say the worst, which every honest man shuns—but also those which are not entirely approved by the Church, for the air breathed there is deadly and one can not touch pitch and not be defiled. If ever you meet such as boast themselves believers, devoted to the Pope, and wish to be Catholics, but would think it the greatest insult to be called clericals, say to them solemnly that devoted children of the Pope are those who obey his word and follow him in all things, and not those who seek a way to evade his orders or to constrain him, with an insistence worthy of a better cause, to exemptions or dispensations all the more calamitous for the

harm and scandal they cause. Never tire of repeating that, if the Pope loves and approves Catholic associations which have material well-being also as their object, he has ever taught that moral and religious well-being must have prevalence in them, and that with the just and praiseworthy intent of bettering the lot of the laborer in town and country must be always united the love of justice and the use of legitimate means to maintain harmony and peace among the different classes of society. Say clearly that mixed associations, alliances with non-Catholics for material well-being, are permitted on certain determined conditions, but that the Pope loves first those unions of the faithful which put aside all human regard, shut their ears to every contrary seduction or threat, and close round that banner which in spite of all the attacks made on it is still the most splendid and glorious, for it is the banner of the Church.

This is the field, my beloved sons, in which you must exercise your activity and zeal. But, as our labors are of no avail unless the blessing of Heaven is on them, let us pray Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who called into being and sealed with His blood the universal brotherhood of the human race, and gathered together as into one sole family all those who should believe in Him, that He may harmonize for our work the minds and wills of all with such perfection of concord that all the children of the Church may be one only thing among themselves, as He is One with the Father.

And with this dear hope I impart to you from the depths of my heart the Apostolic Benediction.

**Freemasonry and Catholicism  
in America**



# Freemasonry and Catholicism in America

By the REV. MICHAEL KENNY, S.J.

*Reprinted and Adapted from the Messenger of the  
Sacred Heart, and from America.*

In offering to the League of the Sacred Heart, and thereby to the entire Catholic world, the Battle against Freemasonry as the primal intention of their prayers and practices for October, 1913, Pope Pius X was in unison with all his predecessors from Clement XII in 1738 to Leo XIII in 1890, who condemned Freemasonry as anti-Catholic, anti-Christian and immoral, and pronounced excommunication against Catholics who should enter it. This alone is proof sufficient that Masonry is to be avoided and combated as a thing essentially evil; but as it has cunningly persuaded many that its object is merely social and fraternal, and a large number of "outer" Masons in English-speaking countries, who are kept ignorant of its real designs, do honestly so believe, some knowledge of its inner purpose and procedure, as revealed by its own authoritative exponents and historians, will help to guard against and combat it intelligently.

Its claims to antiquity—to Hiram, Solomon, the Pharaohs, and even Noah and Adam as its founders—are myths, invented in the eighteenth century and since to dazzle its dupes with flexible symbols drawn from all systems and all lands. It was originally a political society formed by English and Scotch Royalists in support

of the Stuart cause, 1645, under the disguise of a surviving guild of operative Masons, and its secrets, symbols, grips and oaths developed with the dangers of communication between the Stuarts' emissaries and their British adherents. On the accession of George I the four London lodges, which met in taverns and had degenerated into drinking clubs, foreswore the Pretender, and in 1717 formed a united Lodge under the patronage of the Prince of Wales for mutual assistance and a worship of the "Grand Architect of the Universe," in which Jews, Christians, Mahometans and pagans could equally participate. This Lodge was the parent of all Masonry. The former symbols, rules and ceremonies, and others borrowed from various cults and crafts and orders, were framed into a Constitution and Ritual by the Prince's Huguenot chaplain and a Scotch Presbyterian minister, and the Stuart "secret" was transformed into the "light." This "light" had at first no anti-religious or other definite significance; it is now definitely anti-Catholic and anti-Christian, and in inner Masonry is identified with Lucifer, whom its official poet, Carducci, acclaims in his "Hymn to Satan," as Supreme Spiritual Chief of the Masonic army.

The evolution developed rapidly in France, where in 1721 English Masonry was grafted on the Stuart clubs. Aided by the contempt of religious authority and the neglect of the sacraments that Gallicanism and Jansenism had fostered, and by the Voltairian and rationalistic element which it readily absorbed, it proceeded to organize humanity on a purely naturalistic basis and, for this purpose, to uproot Christianity and the systems of government that were built on it. Soon the so-called "Scottish

Rite" had added thirty others to the three English "Degrees," while the Templar system further developed its anti-Christian tendencies; and its then purpose of universal domination it has since typified by establishing its headquarters in Rome in defiant opposition to the Papacy. Its program, as stated in 1750 by Boos, its historian, closely coincided with the program of the French Revolution, and the ripening of its plans was notably quickened in 1780 when Weishaupt established the inner circle of the *Illuminati*. This "Illuminated Masonry," an elaborate hierarchical system graded with consummate craft on ecclesiastical and religious models and in blasphemous imitation of sacramental rites, was cunningly devised to attain, through concerted and secret interference in the government of nations and even of the Church, the grand Masonic design of supplanting existing religion and government by a natural religion and a universal democracy which Masonry alone would plant and guide and govern. This system was accepted by the International Masonic convention at Wilhelmsbad in 1782, and soon its teachings and methods had impregnated Masonry everywhere. Seven years later the French Revolution was accomplished.

Nor did America escape Continental "enlightenment," In 1798 George Washington wrote to a Protestant minister who had invoked his aid against "the mischievous tenets" which the *Illuminati* were grafting on American Masonry, that though he had not been in a lodge more than once or twice in thirty years, he had heard much of the "nefarious and dangerous doctrines" of the *Illuminati*, but he did not believe that their "diabolical tenets" and "pernicious principles" were propagated in American lodges.

The tenets and principles he denounced had made further progress in American Masonry than Washington supposed. Introduced from England to America in 1729, its initial activities were confined to social, or rather, convivial purposes; and in both countries the meetings continued long to be held in taverns, in which the allowance of "three small glasses of punch" was frequently exceeded. Bishop Carroll wrote, in 1794, of the "intemperate drinking, obscene conversation and indelicate songs, to say nothing of other vices," that he was told frequently obtained at lodge meetings; but apparently he had heard of nothing dogmatically or morally wrong in their essential purposes, for he thought the Papal decrees against Masonry did not then apply to the United States. Nor could these have been much insisted on in Great Britain and Ireland at that period, for in ignorance of them Daniel O'Connell had joined the fraternity.

English Masonry also remained social in character and largely free from anti-religious bias until reacted upon by the Continental Masonry which it had begotten. But in 1772 Preston illumined it with the "science" of its more virulent French daughter, and a little later Webb wove into the American Rite the philosophy of the high Continental degrees. The Scottish Rite of Perfection, the first fruit of the *Illuminati*, was brought to the United States in 1783, and in 1801 "a Supreme Council with thirty-three Continental high degrees," permeated by the principles that Washington had denounced three years before, was opened in Charleston, S. C. This Rite, which almost exclusively prevails in the Latin countries, where its anti-Christian activities are notorious, has long ab-



sorbed or dominated the lodges of America, and is in direct affiliation with the Grand Orient of France. Albert Pike, the American who became Supreme Grand Master of the Scottish Rite and was acclaimed "the greatest Mason of the century," holds it up as a model to American Masons, while clearly expounding its naturalistic tenets and anti-Christian purposes and advocating the destruction of the Papacy as "the torturer and curse of humanity." The initiation to its thirtieth degree includes the trampling on the Papal tiara.

Pike's "Morals and Dogmas of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rites," Mackey's "Encyclopedia" and "Lexicon," and other authoritative works insist that Masonry's end and goal is the same in America as elsewhere. They deny that its great design is charity or sociability, as Washington thought and, as Mackey admits, "the great majority of its disciples" still think. These "Exoteric" or "outer" Masons, kept in outer darkness till ripe for enlightenment, are numerous in countries where the true Masonic temperament has not been nurtured by apostasy; but the "Esoteric" or "inner" group who direct its policies and propagate its doctrines, are taught here, and teach when they deem it opportune, the same "pernicious principles" as in France, Italy and Portugal. The *American Freemason* warmly commends the Masonic Junta that is brutally persecuting religion and freedom in Portugal, and publishes with approval the resolutions of the International Masonic Club glorifying the French Masons and the Grand Orient of France.

In 1878 the Grand Orient was repudiated by Anglo-American Masonry because it had stricken from its ritual the names of God and Christ and the Bible and everything

suggestive of the supernatural, even the "Grand Architect of the Universe." Now the same Grand Orient, after it had inspired, directed and sustained religious persecution in France, is declared by the official organ in America "much nearer to the original plan of Masonry than is the Grand Lodge of England. At this day it is the model for all the world. There is no American jurisdiction that can compare with it." This and other Masonic journals commend Buck's "Genius of Freemasonry," which advocates a *Kulturkampf* in the United States, and show that only expediency retards them; and they reiterate the statements of Mackey, Pike and other authorities, that Masonry is everywhere one and its grand object is "Enlightenment," that is, by "the science and philosophy, the symbolism and religion of Masonry," to secure the dominance of Masonic thought, speculative and practical, in general government and individual activities and exclude the supernatural from the mind and conduct of men.

Daniel O'Connell, who had entered Masonry as a youth, but promptly left it on learning of its condemnation, declared in his renunciation that:

The wanton and multiplied taking of oaths, in the name of the Deity and on the Book of God, either in mockery or with a solemnity that makes the taking of them without adequate motive only the more criminal, is alone sufficient to prevent any serious Christian from belonging to that body.

This is one of the reasons given for its condemnation in 1738 by Clement XII, who also points out its naturalistic character, which undermines Faith and generates contempt for religion in its members and in the society they influence; its inscrutable secrecy and ever-changing

deceptive disguises, and the dangers it consequently involves to the security of the State and of the Church.

The blind obedience exacted of its members, of which Mackey says: "The government of Grand Lodges is despotic, and their edicts must be respected and obeyed without examination," has been condemned by many Pontiffs; and Pius IX, considering its immoralities and sacrileges, the cunning of its anti-Christian machinations and the diabolical uses of its despotism, pronounced Freemasonry "the Synagogue of Satan," a phrase that recalls the "diabolical tenets" of Washington. Leo XIII includes in their condemnation the numerous societies that Masonry controls as "really one with the Masonic sect, whence they all proceed and whither they all return." Pope Leo was aware that many of its members in these countries were ignorant of the ultimate purpose of Masonry; but that purpose he accurately defines as:

The overthrow of the whole religious, political and social order based on Christian institutions, and the establishment of a new state of things according to their own ideas and based in its principles and laws on pure Naturalism.

As American Masonry makes much of the honored name of George Washington and is planning to erect a national memorial to him at Alexandria, Va., of whose lodge it claims he was a charter member and first Grand Master, it is well to know the facts of his connection with it. They amount to this: that he became an apprentice Mason at Fredericksburg, Va., in 1752, when he was twenty, and a Master Mason the following year; but there is no entry of his name thereafter, and in 1771 he declined the Mastership of the Grand Lodge of Virginia. He may have been offered the Mastership of Alexandria, but we

have Washington's own evidence that he could not have accepted it, and probably never set foot in that lodge, which got its Virginia charter in 1788. In 1798, September 25, he wrote to Rev. G. W. Snyder that illness and a multiplicity of engagements allowed him to add little to his condemnation of the *Illuminati*.

Except to correct an error you have run into of my presiding over the English lodges of this country. The fact is, I preside over none, nor have I been in one more than once or twice within the last thirty years. (*Sparks' "Writings of Washington,"* p. 315.)

Surely, Washington, writing from Mount Vernon, within a few miles of Alexandria, could not have forgotten such an important event as his election to his home lodge ten years before, if he had already accepted it, or taken any part in the lodge's affairs. Thirty years take us back to 1768, three years before Washington declined the mastership of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, and the "once or twice" is accounted for in his tour of 1790 and 1793, when addresses were presented to him by the lodge of Newport, R. I., and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts (*Sparks, Vol. XII, pp. 190, 200*), and he made formal replies showing that he believed the object of Masonry was "to enlarge the sphere of social happiness." This, according to his written testimony, is the sum of Washington's connection with Masonry since seven years previous to his appointment to the command of the American army. The Alexandria, Va., lodge has, therefore, no claim on him, nor has any other subsequent to 1768.

But even though they could claim him then, they can not now. He wrote one other letter on the subject which

shows him completely out of sympathy with the ruling principles of American Masonry to-day. He had written on September 25 that he had "heard much of the nefarious and dangerous plan and doctrines of the *Illuminati*," but believed "that none of the lodges of this country are contaminated with the principles ascribed" to that society. In answer to a further letter of Mr. Snyder's, he wrote, October 24, 1798 (*Sparks, Vol. XI, p. 337*):

It was not my intention to doubt that the doctrines of the *Illuminati* and the principles of Jacobinism had not spread in the United States. On the contrary, no one is more satisfied of this fact than I am. The idea that I meant to convey was that I did not believe that the lodges of Freemasons in this country had, as societies, endeavored to propagate the diabolical tenets of the former, or the pernicious principles of the latter, if they are susceptible of separation.

His friendliness towards Catholics, native and foreign, was not characteristic of the Scottish Rite, and his associations in Alexandria seem to have been more frequently Catholic than Masonic, particularly in 1788. Colonel John Fitzgerald, of Alexandria, who was his aide-de-camp and secretary from 1776 to 1782, and lived with him on most intimate terms thereafter, and to whom Washington was wont to subscribe himself "Your most affectionate friend," was a loyal Irish Catholic. It was in his house that Mass was said by a priest from Georgetown University for the Catholics of Alexandria, and it was in the same house, on St. Patrick's Day, 1788, at a banquet he gave to Washington, that Colonel Fitzgerald submitted to him the plans for the present St. Mary's Church, and received his warm approval. Another aide-de-camp of Washington, we are told, presented the site on which the church is built, and Washington added a

donation. A memorial tablet at St. Mary's would seem to be more in accord with Washington's sentiments and practices than any monument of modern Masonry, in Alexandria or elsewhere.

The *American Freemason* and numerous other Masonic exponents make it quite clear that American lodges do propagate now, if they did not then, the pernicious plan and principles that Washington denounced in 1798, and that he could not now feel inclined to visit them even once or twice in thirty years. The present manifold and virulent propaganda of their leaders and publicists against the Church to which our first President paid such handsome tribute for its services to American liberty, is still more strikingly evident.

*America* has printed a secret letter of the "Guardians of Liberty" to the editors of the secret society papers in the United States, protesting against Secretary of State Bryan's disregard of their impudent demand as to whether he had consulted with representatives of the Catholic Church on certain matters of state. It has since come into possession of another secret and this time a formally Masonic document: "Extracts from the Allocution of Hon. James D. Richardson, Sov. : Grand Commander of the Supreme Council, 33° of the A. : and A. : S. : R. : of Freemasonry. Southern Jurisdiction, U. S. A. Washington, D. C., October, 1913." The first "extract," which occupies half of the whole and is entitled "The Church of Rome," clearly indicates the militant hostility of the real manipulators of Masonry, in America as elsewhere, toward the Catholic Church. It is also a sample of the defamatory methods by which they are persistently endeavoring to inflame their gen-

eral membership and allied societies with the same hostility.

The occasion of the "Sovereign Grand Commander's" diatribe was an article in the New York *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* of October, on the "Battle against Freemasonry," the general intention of the month; but the late Mr. Richardson was careful to withhold from his readers and hearers the name and place of publication, referring to it as "a leading paper of the Romish Church published in New England," while citing a portion of the *Messenger* leaflet. In this he was less honest than the notorious *Menace*, which published the leaflet in full, with place, date and title; and we may add that it had the result of considerably increasing the *Messenger's* large circulation, an illustration of the well-known fact that the attacks of bigotry often stimulate fair-minded readers in the search of truth. The Masonic head took care to provide them with no such opportunity.

He was wise in his generation. Neither did he controvert the *Messenger* arguments which prove that Masonry is not intended by its controlling heads as a benevolent and social society, but is an organization despotically governed, designed by secret and concerted action through every available channel, public and private, to supplant existing religion and government by an irreligious autocracy of its own. He could not refute the proofs and statements, for they are based, every one, on the formal writings of the accepted authorities in American Masonry. Instead, he presents a travesty of Catholic doctrines and purposes, and then incites his brethren all to unite in organized battle against the terrible spectre he has evolved.

Nor are they to battle alone. The Church's purpose, he states, is "to make America Catholic"; in which he is right, for it is a part of the commission Christ gave His Apostles, but is therefore to be accomplished in the apostolic way by peaceful persuasion and with its light of truth shining in the open, not by the dark and hidden burrowing of oath-bound cliques. To prevent this consummation and "in resistance to the [alleged] declaration of the present Pope Pius X in his efforts towards making America 'the first Catholic nation of the world,'" the Sovereign Commander sent forth this appeal:

We have the right to summon not only every Scottish Rite Mason, but every Protestant in religion, every true patriot and lover of his country, whether the subject of a monarchy or of a republic, and who places the Constitution, written or unwritten, and the laws of their country above and paramount to the dogmatic and sometimes cruel and bloody edicts and bulls of the Papacy, to resist to the uttermost the aggressiveness of the Roman Catholic Church.

Not a few of our brethren are personally acquainted with many Masons who are apparently ignorant of any anti-Catholic purposes in Masonry and indisposed to sympathize with such purposes; and in fact the majority of American Masons are in this condition, as may be gathered from the *American Freemason* writers who constantly reproach these "outer" Masons for their apathy. Such Catholics would do well to remember that Mr. Richardson was an important Masonic personage. He resigned the position of Congressman for Tennessee and a good prospect of the U. S. Senatorship to become Sovereign Commander of the Scottish Rite. His antecedents add pretige to his authority, which was absolute otherwise, for Mackey's approved "Encyclopedia of



Masonry" says: "The Government of Grand Lodges is despotic, and their edicts must be respected and obeyed without examination"; and Mr. Richardson was the despot of the lodges, being head of the Scottish Rite jurisdiction which dominates them all. Up to a few weeks ago he sat in the chair of Albert Pike, "the greatest Mason of the century," and, by the way, he specifically endorses in this Allocution the anti-Catholic and anti-Christian blasphemies and calumnies of Pike's venomous reply to Leo XIII's condemnation, and, impliedly, Pike's "Morals and Dogmas of the Scottish Rite," which is a concrete illustration of Pope Leo's statement of Masonry's ultimate purpose, the supplanting of Christian institutions and laws by a purely naturalistic system.

Catholics not infrequently credit the stories often honestly told them by "outer" Masons, that American Masonry is Christian, since Jews are not admitted to its high degrees, and that it has naught to do with Continental Masonry. Mr. Richardson is explicit on both questions. "Hebrews and Christians, Moslem and Parsee," he states, "all meet around her pacific altars," but "no atheist can be made a Mason." This latter is an example of the duplicity which Mackey and Pike inculcate. Apart from the professedly atheistic action of the Grand Orient, with which his lodges' relations are "absolutely harmonious," his own constitutions exclude only "a *stupid* atheist"; and Pike, his exemplar, had explained that Masonic enlightenment obliterates stupidity and had formulated a pantheistic system into which any brand of atheism fits.

As to the Continental connection, we have seen that though in 1878 Anglo-American Masons repudiated the

supreme Continental Council because it struck God, Christ and the Bible, from its ritual, to-day the official American organ recognizes the Grand Orient of France as "the model for all the world," and this in full view of the religious persecutions it has engineered in France, Portugal and elsewhere. But Mr. Richardson was still higher authority; his second "extract" opens with the words: "Our relations with all the Supreme Councils of the world are absolutely harmonious, with one exception, that of Spain." Neither the doings of Nathan in Italy, nor the machinations against religious liberty of the French and Portuguese atheistic Councils disturb their harmony; and neither do the like conduct and purposes of the lodges of Spain. No, the sole cause of Masonic discord is due to the Spanish Supreme Council establishing lodges of its own in the United States and Porto Rico, Mr. Richardson's territory. One might ask, if he claims exclusive jurisdiction here for his own Council because it was first in the field, why should he object to the Catholic Church "making America Catholic," since it was not only first in the field, but established its jurisdiction here before Freemasonry and Protestantism existed?

The last "extract" throws much light on Masonic activity. There was, in October, 1912, an *International Masonic Conference* in Washington, D. C., and in its name Mr. Richardson, "as Sovereign Grand Commander," called on the present President and Secretary of State, and offered them the services of "Masons of our Rite everywhere" in forwarding their plans for international arbitration. The offer was accepted with "much pleasure" and "a suggestion was made that each of the

Supreme Councils of our Rite take up this matter for itself and by affirmative action pledge its influence and that of its membership to their respective Governments in aid of this movement." The Grand Commander acted on the suggestion, and also had the Scottish Rite Supreme Council recommend the plan to their "sister Councils" throughout the world and secure their co-operation.

We have here a striking object lesson in Freemasonry's activities in national and international politics and the powerful influence it exerts. When, therefore, Mr. Richardson commands his "nearly one and a half million" Blue Lodge Masons and "nearly 200,000 of the Scottish Rite" to unite with all Protestant Americans "as one band of brothers against the avowed purposes of the Church of Rome," no Catholic can afford to ignore this organized and dangerous menace.

*America's* exposure of the Richardson pronouncement drew from the *American Freemason* for June, 1914, an elaborate six-page editorial entitled, "A Jesuit Criticizes Richardson's Allocution." It adds striking confirmation to our conclusion that when the Sovereign Grand Commander commanded his Masonic myriads to band together against Rome with all her enemies, he was assured of the zealous cooperation of his chief subordinates. The American Masonic mouthpiece out-Richardsons the Sovereign Grand Commander, but is frank and dignified beyond many of its kind. Finding it more effective to slander the whole Church, her tenets and purposes, than individuals, it eschews personalities, and protests "against a gutter-snipe press assuming to speak for Masonry." But while condemning "eruptions of blackguardism," it

takes care not to name the "eruptors." It compliments, not for the first time, "this high-class weekly, *America*," for its "invariable courtesy and clear statements," and describes that paper as "singularly well informed and eminently fair." However, it affects to assume that regarding the fraternity we are either ignorant or dishonest. This is an accepted Masonic affectation toward the uninitiate, that is uttered with a wink.

The standard formula declared, it proceeds to confirm both our conclusion and our premises. In reply to the charge that the real manipulators of American Masonry are militantly hostile to the Catholic Church, it merely retorts that the Church is hostile to Masonry, has even got her people to pray against it, and therefore Masonry must strike back, and will select its own weapons. Prayer will not be one of them. It does not occur to the Masonic editor that Masonry commenced the fight. An approved article in the same number admits the correctness of the date, A. D. 1717, to which we assigned the origin of Masonry. The Catholic Church has been seventeen centuries in existence, preaching and guarding a code of belief and conduct that was committed to her for all time by Christ, the Son of God, the God-Man, who had atoned by His Blood for the sins of the world. Christ had taught, and the Church which He founded had consistently inculcated, that to love God above all things and to love one's neighbor as one's self was the fundamental law of human conduct, and He gave a Sacrifice and a sacramental system through which His merits healed and perfected the souls of men. Then came Masonry from London to France, seventeen centuries later, and

under the influence of the Scottish Rite, which was really a French Voltairian evolution, taught that Christ and His laws were no longer needed, that His Church was an obstruction to the march of humanity, that His Sacraments and teachings, which they blasphemously mimicked in their initiations, were merely a symbolism, and that the brotherhood of man must be effected, not through the supernaturalism openly taught by the Catholic Church, but through the naturalistic pantheism secretly inculcated by Masonry. That the tenets and spirit of this less than two-hundred-year-old organization is utterly antagonistic to the nineteen-hundred-year-old organization of Christ, is frankly admitted by the *American Freemason*:

This magazine has never swerved from the position that between the Masonic fraternity and the Catholic Church there is an antagonism inherent to the nature of the organizations; the one seeking the broadest liberty of thought, and the other striving to stifle all revolt against the self-constituted authority that would hold the mind and soul in thralldom. We have declared that there can be no peace, nor even truce, between Freemasonry and the official Roman Church.

"The broadest liberty of thought" means, of course, that the true Freemason is a freethinker; that is, he is free to adopt whatever code of thought or action convenience may suggest. On the other hand, the authority that would hold mind and soul in thralldom is the authorized representative of Christ Who would hold the men He has made in obedience to His law. Conscious of the gravity of the opposing issues, the *American Freemason* would have "intelligent craftsmen find keener and more effective weapons" than mere abuse:

The historical facts of both Freemasonry and the Catholic Church, the official pronouncements of both institutions, and the admitted purposes of the two opposing organizations, give a sufficient arming for the controversialist.

Thus it is plain that the issue between Catholicism and Masonry, as far as its American spokesmen can make it, is clear-cut. Its authoritative exponent makes it still clearer. Adverting to our statement that many "outer" Masons claim that the institution is Christian, he frankly disclaims all such pretense:

It is true, and regrettably true, that some of our more ignorant and mistakenly zealous brothers have claimed for Freemasonry that it was a Christian organization, the "hand-maid of religion."

Not at all; it does not even require belief in a personal God. English-speaking Masons utilize, for the present, the name of God, but we are informed in the same issue that in Freemasonry God is not a dogma, but a symbol; that "symbolism, not dogmatism," is its watchword, and that its spirit is expressed "merely in the symbolism of signs, forms and words which grant to the disciple the most far-reaching mental liberty,"—liberty to believe or practise what you please, provided it accord not with the Catholic Code. This is the doctrine of the masters, but so far it seems they have been unable to get the majority of American Masons to accept it.

The editor questioned our statement that the Scottish Rite, which is in direct affiliation with the atheistic Grand Orients of the Continent, dominates American Masonry; yet on page 365 of the same issue we find the Scottish Rite styled "the proper school of the Masonic sage, the final refinement of Freemasonry," which "transposes the

dogmatism of those special forms of worship, those peculiar teachings of philosophy which are broadly hinted at in the Blue Lodge, into a rational Freemasonry which is able not only to declare the law, but to give reasons for the law." Hence, when the *American Freemason* says "symbolism, not dogmatism," it means a very dogmatic dogmatism of its own, but opposed to the dogmas of Catholicity. In the number for May, 1914, the editor admits that the Scottish Rite, "the caudal appendage of the Craft, has acquired sufficient weight and momentum to pretty effectually swing the entire dog." Apart from the significance of his nomenclature, his quarrel with the Scottish Rite adds strength to our contention. Far from finding fault with that Rite's affiliation with the Continental atheistic bodies, he insists that these alone constitute real Masonry, and that all Masons, American and English, of the Blue Lodge and York rites and every other, should affiliate with the anti-Christian Grand Orient of France, and become openly associated with the persecuting activities of French, Italian and Portuguese Freemasonry. He uses Grand Commander Lima, who is mainly responsible for the infamies of Portugal's Masonic Republic, for his frontispiece, and in four successive numbers he eulogizes Nathan, accepts as his own, Nathan's vilest insults to the Pope and to the Church, and calls on all American Masons to rally to the support of this typical Mason against "Roman arrogance." For any Christian theology he "would not give a fig," but Protestantism he finds useful as the opponent of "a power claiming spiritual mandate." Hence, he champions "Protestant Ulster" for its "resistance to any and all attempts to mix religion with politics or eco-

nomics," and he looks forward to the day when the Grand Lodge of Ireland will "follow upon the path taken of necessity by French Freemasonry." He denounces as schismatical the one French Lodge that restored Christian symbols and belief in the immortality of the soul to its ritual, and anathematizing the English lodges that acknowledge it, he asks American Masons:

Why should not a common international front be presented to a common international enemy? French Masonry tells us in the United States, and with a true fraternal heart beat: "When you need us and our experience, call upon us, and some day we think you are going to need us."

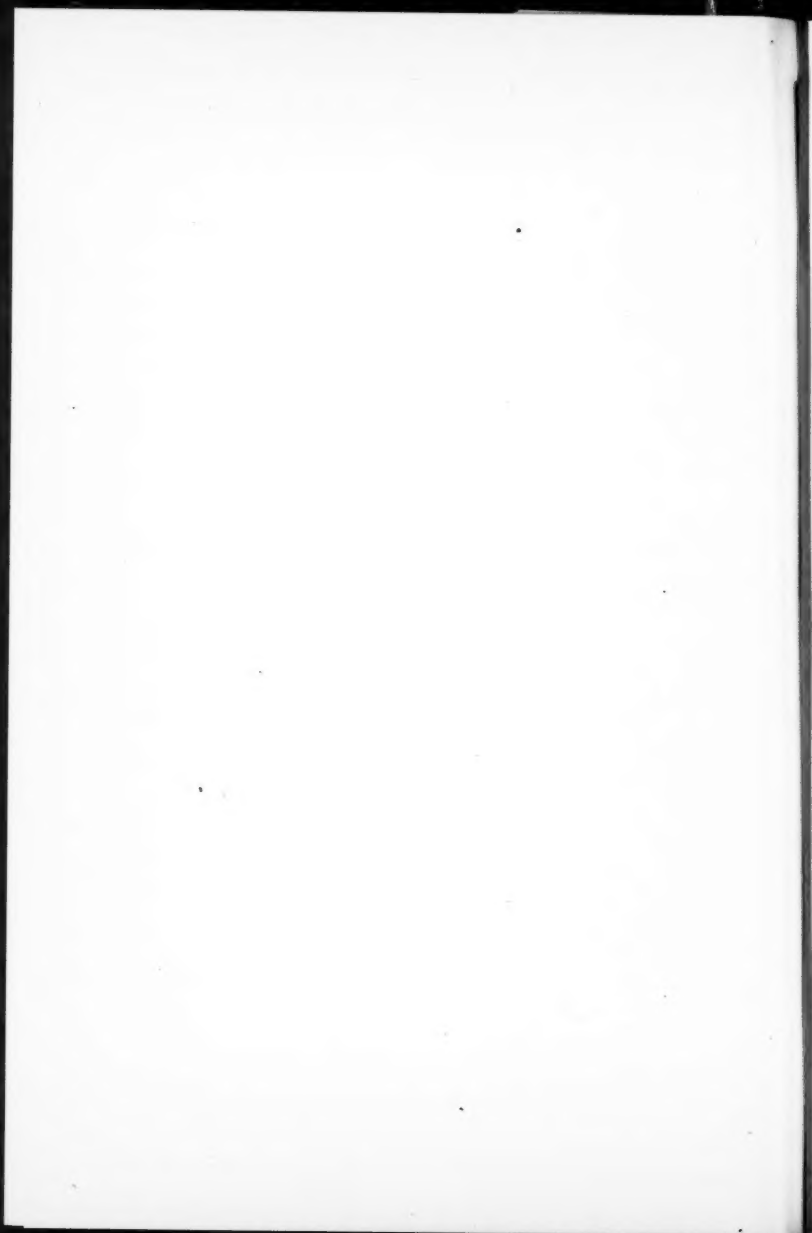
Those of "the inward vision," we are told, are "aligning now for the Armageddon of the generation," a battle which Masonry will fight to keep us from "making America Catholic." We gather from the persistent and increasingly virulent attacks and calumnies of many widely circulated publications that are formally or informally Masonic, that already the battle is well on. The chief manipulators, disturbed by the rapid growth of Catholicity, are employing every organ of every shade of vileness, and every available device, to indoctrinate the ranks with their own intelligent hostility, and to prepare the minds of the general public for the day of Armageddon. But, alas! "eighty per cent. of American Masons" are declared unready for alignment. The "inept majority, not mentally capable of comprehending the subtle philosophy" of French Masonry, are not ready to substitute the laws of the Grand Orient for the American Constitution. These are more American than Masonic, and therefore can not perceive the desirability of nullifying the religious liberty clause in that document. The



*American Freemason* bewails their unenlightened lethargy, and makes it no less clear than the more rabid and vulgar organs, that to filch the Catholic Church of its rights and liberties here, as in Continental Europe, is the unfaltering purpose of the "bright" Masons of the adept minority. A souvenir, just to hand, of the Knights Templar Conclave in Chicago, has a hundred pages, of which this is typical:

Let no true Mason forget that the day the enemy fulfil their openly declared purpose to "make America Catholic," that day is sounded the death-knell of Freemasonry. . . . Suppose every one of the 2,000,000 Masons in America should follow the pathway of Masonic principles as I have tried to outline it; wakeful; took notice; became well posted; and then *acted* accordingly; what would happen? In a single decade they could do what 30,000 Masons among 40,000,000 people have done for France, according to Catholic admissions, *viz.*, loosen the hold of this Italian Pope and College of Italian Cardinals now slowly strangling the life of the Nation.

We need not be violently alarmed; but it is well that every Catholic should also be wakeful, take notice, and become well posted on Masonic activities.



# Divorce

By the HON. JOSEPH E. RANDELL, United States  
Senator from Louisiana.

*An Address Delivered at Notre Dame University,  
Indiana, June 15, 1914, before the Members  
of the Graduating Class.*

Reverend Father President, Members of the Graduating Class, Ladies and Gentlemen: I desire to discuss to-day one of the most serious problems confronting the American people: the problem of divorce. For many years I have given the deepest thought to this subject, and am firmly convinced that the only way to cure the evil is by absolute prohibition of divorce with the right to remarry, though there is no objection, in extreme cases, to legal separation from bed and board without permission to remarry. It was my privilege on the 4th of February last, to introduce in the Senate of the United States a proposed amendment to the Constitution to accomplish this purpose, and I earnestly hope that I may live to see it adopted. Very many good people are opposed to absolute prohibition, as they contend that the Scriptures authorize a dissolution of the marriage when one of the spouses is unfaithful, and they urge that for the cause of adultery alone divorce should be permitted with the right of remarriage to the innocent party. There has been much advocacy of uniform divorce laws, some insisting that there should be a Constitutional provision authorizing Congress to legislate in all matters relating

to marriage and divorce, while others contend that the proper way is for the States themselves, by some kind of concerted action, to adopt a system of uniform laws on this very important subject.

Personally, I believe the wisest and best plan is to adopt the amendment I have proposed, prohibiting absolute divorce entirely, though granting separation from bed and board, without the right to remarry. There are so many wise and good men, however, who differ with me on this subject, and the benefits of a national uniform divorce law would be so great, that I would be very glad to cooperate in securing an amendment for this purpose, if it becomes apparent that my more drastic and far-reaching measure is impracticable.

Nearly every one who has given the divorce problem the slightest study admits that it is one which must be solved, and that promptly. In the United States divorce is spreading with alarming rapidity. It has permeated every walk of life, and is prevalent among every class of people. The total number of divorces granted in 1867 was 9,937, or 27 per 100,000 population. Forty years later, in 1906, there were 72,062 divorces, or 86 per 100,000; thus, in actual numbers, there were more than seven times as many divorces granted in 1906 as in 1867; or, allowing for the increased population, divorce had increased 319 per cent. To put it in another way, in 1867 there was 1 divorce for every 3,666 people, while in 1906 there was 1 for every 1,162.

If divorces multiply at the same rate in the future as in the past—and there is every indication that they will increase faster—then, before the middle of this century, we will have annually in the United States 275 divorces per 100,000 population, or 1 divorce for every 5 mar-

riages. In 1887 there was 1 divorce for every 17 marriages; in 1906, 1 for every 12 marriages, and at the same rate we will have in 1946 the appalling figure of 1 divorce for every 5 marriages. Our closest competitors in Europe are Switzerland, with 41 divorces annually per 100,000 population, Hungary with 35, and France with 33, according to the statistics for 1910 and 1911, while Japan has 122 divorces to our 86.

To make a most striking comparison, during 1901 the total number of divorces granted in the United States was more than twice as great as in all the rest of Christendom combined; yes, actually more than two times as many divorces among 75,000,000 Americans that year as among the 400,000,000 souls of Europe and other Christian countries. England stands in bold contrast with this country. In 1911 she granted a total of only 655 divorces, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per 100,000; while in 1906 the United States allowed 72,062 divorces, or 86 per 100,000. During the 20 years ending with 1906, Ireland had only 19 divorces, or an average of less than one absolute divorce per year for her entire population of 4,500,000. If the United States were to write in the Constitution an amendment prohibiting absolute divorce, it would not be taking such a radical step as might at first be thought, but would be following a beaten path.

The State of South Carolina—all honor to her—forbids divorce. It is absolutely prohibited in Italy, Spain, and to two-thirds of the population of Austria-Hungary, while the Latin-American countries of Mexico, Argentine Republic, Brazil, Peru, Chile, and others, have similar laws. A legal separation, however, without the right to remarry, is recognized in all of these jurisdictions. In Canada the important Provinces of Quebec, Ontario,

Newfoundland, and the Northwest Territories, have no divorce laws, though divorce may be obtained in exceptional cases by special act of the Canadian Parliament. From 1867 to 1909—a period of 42 years—these Provinces had only 140 absolute divorces.

It can not be gainsaid that divorce destroys the home, and the home is the base and foundation of the State; hence, we must stop divorce or ruin the State, which can not continue to exist if its base is allowed to crumble and fall. While many excellent people are divorced, and some of them make new homes, the inevitable trend of divorce is to break up many more homes than it builds up, and to materially reduce the number of children. When marriage is dissolved the true home ceases to exist, the parents and children are separated, and the sweet ties that bind father and mother to their offspring and to each other are broken forever.

Let us turn to the history of Rome, the greatest republic and empire of the ancient world, examine her customs, take warning from her example, and try to profit by her experience. A careful and painstaking research into the history of Rome convicts the investigator that during the early times of that nation the marriage tie was considered inviolate. Up to the latter days of the Republic, the principal form of marriage in use in Rome was the *confarreatio*, which was essentially a religious ceremony. The bride and bridegroom, in the presence of a Roman priest and ten witnesses, partook of a cake made of old Italian grain called *far*, a sacrifice was offered to the gods that they might look auspiciously upon the marriage, and the skin of the victim was stretched over two seats, upon which the wedded couple had to sit. The sublimity and perpetuity of the Roman

religious marriage are beautifully expressed by the juriconsult, Modestinus, who defined it "a life-long fellowship of all divine and human rights."

The early patriarchal family occupied a prominent and powerful position in Rome. It was the bone and sinew of the nation; the temple where the husband and wife and children worshiped the household gods; around it was cast the sacred mantle of religion, and one of the essential elements of the religious marriage was its indissolubility. The family was the integral unit of the government; a State within a State; and Rome owed its primitive solidarity and strength in a great measure to the unity and perpetuity of the Roman family. "For 520 years, it is said," writes Lecky in his "History of European Morals," Volume 2, page 317, "there was no such a thing as divorce in Rome." "Marriage," says Thwing, in his book, "The Family," page 38, "was usually a happy as well as a permanent union." Cato thought it better to be "a good husband than a great senator." While Gibbon, in his "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Volume 7, page 348, says: "The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of the Romans, who abstained from the exercise of this tempting privilege [divorce] for five hundred years. . . ."

Then marriage was esteemed a sacred tie,  
And vows of love were not a honeyed lie,  
The seal of fond affection was for life,  
And death alone divorced the man and wife.

But gradually the wealth of the world was poured into the lap of Rome; philosophical scepticism and Oriental superstitions undermined the morals of the people. Luxury and sensuality went hand in hand, and the

Romans, enervated by a life of ease, became victims of the most depraved vices. Conjugal fidelity became the scoff of the poet; marriage vows the target for the shafts of the satirist, and womanly virtue the laughing stock of the servile courtier.

Marriage lost its sacred character and became a civil contract. The *confarreatio* developed into the free marriage, in which the wife was no longer under the control of the husband, and which might be dissolved by mutual consent. The ease with which divorces might be secured was the strongest inducement to enter into rash and ill-considered marriages. In this regard Gibbon, Volume 7, page 349, "Decline and Fall," says:

"In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle [divorce] was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or caprice, suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. . . . A specious theory is confuted by this free and perfect experiment, which demonstrates that the liberty of divorce does not contribute to happiness and virtue. The facility of separation would destroy all mutual confidence, and inflame every trifling dispute; the minute differences between a husband and a stranger, which might so easily be removed, might still more easily be forgotten; and the matron, who in five years can submit to the embraces of eight husbands, must cease to reverence the chastity of her own person." These words should carry the more weight because they were written by an infidel, who at times during his career, denied the existence of God.

Shortly before the Christian era, after marriage had become a civil contract, things went from bad to worse. Cicero repudiates his wife Terentia, while Augustus



forces the husband of Lydia to divorce her, that he may have her himself. One woman has ten husbands, according to Martial; another, relates Juvenal, has eight husbands in five years, while St. Jerome states that there is in Rome a woman who has married her twenty-third husband, she herself being his twenty-first wife. (Lecky's "History of European Morals.") "Divorce," writes Tertullian, "is the fruit of marriage." The consul, Quintus Vespillo, had engraved on a stone to his dead wife: "Seldom do marriages last until death undivorced; but ours continued happily for forty-one years." Ovid and Pliny the Younger had three wives; Cæsar and Antony, four; Sulla and Pompey, five. Nero, who was a much-wedded man, was the third husband of Poppæa, and the fifth of another of his wives. "Sooner," says Propertius, "will the sea be dried up, and the stars reft from Heaven, than our women be reformed." Seneca, the Roman philosopher, says: "Does any woman now blush at divorce when some illustrious and noble women compute their own years not by the number of consuls, but by the number of their husbands, and divorce themselves for the sake of marriage, and marry for the sake of divorce."

The evil was national in prevalence. It existed not only among the great, but also among the lowly. It permeated every stratum of society, and was widespread in every class of people. While doubtless there were many instances of the practice of the domestic virtues, the Roman life, as a whole, was rotten to its very core. From this time on, to the reign of Constantine, the depravity of the morals of the empire of the Cæsars baffles description. Suffice it to say that during these three centuries Rome was a vast slough of iniquity, reeking

with the stench of every form of immorality. Close students and investigators into Roman history corroborate this in no uncertain terms. Thwing, in his book, "The Family," says on page 41:

"With Greek culture, Greek frivolity and Greek morals entered Rome, and their influence resulted in the overthrow of the republican simplicity, and the disintegration of the pure and strong life of the Roman family. . . . Childlessness was preferred to parenthood, and celibacy to marriage. . . . Celibacy became so popular that the state interfered to prohibit its continuance. The taste for marriage was lost."

As a result of this riot of divorce and immorality, celibacy, childlessness, and infanticide rivaled one another as the reigning evils. To prevent the decrease in population Augustus imposed a tax on bachelors over twenty-five and maidens over twenty. Petronius, during the reign of Nero, writes: "In this city no one acknowledges children; a man who has heirs is ostracised, and leads a shamed and lonely life. But bachelors without kin are honored and deemed model men."

In spite of all laws, however, the evil grew in magnitude. "The marriage relation," says Professor Seeley, "became so intolerably disagreeable that men shunned it as they would have shunned the plague." Not only were the Romans weakened physically and mentally, not only was the strength of their bodies and the vigor of their minds sapped by dissipation, but the corruption of the national life caused a most alarming decrease in population. "Foremost among the causes why the empire was weakening," writes Davis, in his "Influence of Wealth on Imperial Rome," page 324, "was the constant decline in population."

Mr. James Bryce, former Ambassador from Great

Britain to the United States, in his book, "Marriage and Divorce," page 63, states that concurrently with and following the change from the old formal religious marriages in Rome to the free contract marriage, the marriage relation fell from the high esteem in which it had been held, and that

Men grew less and less willing to marry; women as well as men less and less faithful. Fewer children were born. As neither religious nor moral associations sanctified the relation and as it could be terminated at pleasure, it was lightly entered upon, and this very heedlessness, making it frequently a failure, caused it to be no less lightly dissolved. Thus social habits and a standard of opinion were formed, against which the reforming efforts of Augustus and his successors could do little, and which resisted even the far more powerful efforts of Christianity, until Roman society itself went to pieces in the West, and passed into new forms in the East.

Rome was then forced to hire barbarians to guard her frontiers and repel her enemies. The Emperor, Probus, was the first to begin this system, by enrolling 16,000 Alemanni in his legions, and the Roman Empire was eventually compelled to depend for its very existence, for the most part, upon the much-despised barbarian, who at heart hated the very name of the country he was defending.

Thus the final disintegration and destruction of the Western Empire was caused not by a foreign army, but by its own. For Rome had no Romans left to fight her battles. History relates this in no uncertain words. And this was the logical and inevitable result of divorce coupled with luxury.

Let us take this lesson to heart and apply it to our own country and our own times. Simultaneous with the

change in the sacred character of the Roman marriage came the belief that the marriage tie could be broken; and once this idea was prevalent, frequent divorce became only a matter of time. As soon as the seal of religion was removed from marriage, it became a mere transient union.

The same is true of modern times. As long as the Catholic view of marriage was accepted throughout Christian countries, and its sacramental character acknowledged, divorce was unknown. But when the specious doctrine that marriage was a civil contract or civil status in which the Church has no concern was promulgated by the early reformers, the sanctity and indissolubility of that relation was denied.

The enormous and startling increase of divorce in the United States and other countries in the past half century is due to a lack of respect for the most sacred of human relations, to a disbelief in its sacramental character, and the growth of individualism, the idea that the happiness of a single person must override every other consideration.

We have seen how in Rome celibacy, childlessness and infanticide followed in the wake of divorce. The grim statements of Petronius and other Roman writers of the Empire sound strangely like the language of Dr. M. S. Iseman, who has given the subject deep study and investigation, and who says in his book, "Race Suicide," page 133, referring to this unnatural crime:

Slowly and surely the contagion has spread over the land until it has honeycombed the entire nation. The practice is just as prevalent in New Orleans as it is in Boston; it is as unblushing in Atlanta as it is in Providence; as common in Richmond as it is in St. Louis. The Anglo-Saxon cradle is just as bare of babies

in Denver as it is in Chicago, and the little ones who call their father "Dad-dad" are just as scarce in San Francisco as they are in Cleveland. There are as few babies born in the old colonial mansions facing the Battery at Charleston as there are in the palaces lining Fifth Avenue.

A few years ago Edward Atkinson, the great New England statistician, said that if the people of the old New England stock continued to have as few children during the next thirty years as during the past thirty, and the people of Irish and Canadian ancestry continued to have as many children in the future as in the past, then at the end of thirty years there would be very few descendants of the old settlers in New England, which would be at that time practically inhabited by Irish and Canadians.

One of our ex-Presidents of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, alarmed at the increase of infanticide, has raised his voice in denunciation of this great evil. He says:

To increase greatly a race must be prolific, and there is no curse so great as the curse of barrenness, whether for a nation or an individual. When a people gets to the position even now occupied by the mass of the French and by sections of the New Englanders, where the death rate surpasses the birth rate, then that race is not only fated to extinction, but it deserves extinction. When the capacity and desire for fatherhood and motherhood is lost, the race goes down and should go down.

My friends, let these words strike home. In Rome with the frequency of divorce and the growth of luxury came childlessness and infanticide, and on the heels of these twin evils followed the gradual extinction of the native Roman stock, and the depopulation and downfall of the Roman Empire. Shall not the United States take warning from Rome's example?

There is another chapter to this subject that demands the closest study: the marriage and divorce laws of this country. In all the history of marriage and divorce legislation, we find no more strange and paradoxical situation than that existing in the United States. Since the family is the fundamental unit of the State, it would seem that the laws governing its foundation and dissolution should be written with the most scrupulous care as would befit a subject which so vitally concerns the well-being of the nation. The contrary, however, appears to be the case. Mr. James Bryce, in his book on "Marriage and Divorce," page 51, says:

The legislation which the thirteen Colonies and the newer States added to the Union since 1789 have produced, presents the largest and strangest and perhaps the saddest body of legislative experiments in the sphere of family law which free, self-governing communities have ever tried.

Our marriage and divorce laws are framed according to the whim of the legislators of each individual State, and the result is a veritable patchwork, which runs the gamut of matrimonial delinquencies from that of South Carolina, which grants no divorce, and New York, which grants divorce for adultery only, to that of the State of Washington, which permits absolute divorce for "any cause deemed by the court sufficient."

In some States marriages between blacks and whites are absolutely void, again they are prohibited under pain of punishment, and in other States they are permitted. The laws in regard to void and voidable, bigamous and incestuous marriage vary so that hardly any two States are alike. Louisiana forbids the marriage of first cousins, but Mississippi permits it. Vermont thought it necessary to forbid a man to marry his mother-in-law, while

Mississippi has enacted a law to prevent a man from marrying his grandmother. In Virginia a marriage between a negro and a white person is void, but this is hardly a bar, because should it be desired to contract such a marriage, the parties have only to cross the Potomac river, into the District of Columbia, and have the nuptials celebrated there in the capital city of our nation, the home of our presidents, and the political centre of the United States.

According to Howard, in his "Matrimonial Institutions," more than half of our States recognize the common-law marriage. This may be defined as the living together of a man and woman, as man and wife, with the present mutual intent to regard each other as man and wife, and with the further intent to regard the union as permanent. Besides being the loophole for all kinds of fraud and deception, these common-law marriages tend to bring the marriage state into disrepute and reflect upon the nature, dignity and responsibilities of the marriage tie.

In Massachusetts a couple can not even publicly marry themselves, no matter how honest their intentions. In New York, a gilded fool may saddle himself with an immoral woman as a wife, because of a secret and imprudent expression of a present intent to consider her as such. But when we reach Arizona we find on her statute books a law stranger than any we yet have seen. If a man forms an immoral connection with a woman, and lives with her as his concubine, the union being wholly meretricious from its inception, at the end of one year she, by force of law, without any intent on his part, becomes his lawful wife.

To give more than a hasty glance at our divorce laws,

would be to tax both your time and patience. Adultery is a cause of divorce in all of the forty-eight States, save South Carolina. Physical cruelty, and that most elastic phrase, "mental cruelty," is a cause of divorce in thirty-nine States. In regard to mental cruelty, Mr. Bryce says, in his book on "Marriage and Divorce," page 57:

"Mental cruelty" is, of course, a term hard to define, as may be seen by examining the views that have been expressed by the English judges on cruelty, and it is not wonderful that the easy-going courts of most American States should give a wide extension to such an elastic conception.

A few examples of mental cruelty, taken from the official Report on Marriage and Divorce, published by the United States Government, will drive this point home:

A wife prays for divorce because her husband charged her sister with stealing, thereby seriously wounding her feelings. Another faithful spouse says that her husband does not wash himself, thereby inflicting on the plaintiff great mental anguish. Again a plaintiff says, "During our whole married life my husband has never offered to take me out riding. This has been a source of great mental suffering and injury." Another wife alleges that her husband remains out of the house until 10 o'clock and when he does come in keeps her awake by talking. Also that he keeps a saloon which grieves sorely her mind. He replies, "Plaintiff should not be ashamed of him because temporarily in the liquor business, that he may do better some day; his father was a high State Officer in Germany." Divorce granted for mental cruelty.

To show how often the charge of cruelty is resorted to, let me mention that in the United States, from 1887 to 1906—twenty years—205,000 divorces, or 22 per cent. of the total number, were granted for this cause. All the States, save South Carolina and New York, grant divorce for



desertion. In twenty-two the statutory period is one year, or indeterminate, and in twenty-four States it is two years or more. This appears to be an easy and favorite means of dissolving the marriage tie. In twenty years it was the cause of 368,000 divorces, or 39 per cent. of the whole. The laxity and diversity of our divorce laws gives a fine irony to Saxe's pointed lines:

Flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone  
Till death the union should sever;  
For these are the words employed, of course,  
Though death is cheated sometimes by divorce—  
A fact that gives an equivocal force  
To that beautiful phrase "for ever."

But behind all divorce laws there arises the much-mooted question of divorce jurisdiction. To what extent are the divorce decrees of one State to be recognized in the other States of the Union? This question is so technical that it is impossible to enter upon a thorough discussion of it now. Suffice it to say that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that under certain conditions a State may refuse to recognize the extra-territorial effect of a divorce granted in another State. The result has been confusion worse confounded. The eminent jurist, Judge Noah Davis, in the *North American Review*, Volume 139, page 39, gives an excellent illustration of the evils caused by the diversity of our laws on marriage and divorce:

A is married in New York, where he has resided for years, and has a family and is the owner of real and other estate. He desires divorce and goes to Indiana, where that thing is cheap and easy. Upon complying with some local rule, and with no actual notice to his wife, he gets a decree of divorce, and presently is married in that State to another wife, who brings

him other children. He again acquires new estates; but, tiring of his second wife, he deserts her and goes to California, where in a brief space he is again divorced, and then marries again, forming a new family and acquiring new real and personal estates. In a few years his fickle taste changes again and he returns to New York, where he finds his first wife has obtained a valid divorce for his adulterous marriage in Indiana, which sets her free and forbids his marrying again during her lifetime. He then slips into an eastern State, takes a residence, acquires real property there, and after a period gets judicially freed from his California bonds. He returns to New York, takes some new affinity, crosses the New Jersey line, and in an hour is back in New York, enjoying so much of his estate as the courts have not adjudged to his first wife, and gives new children to the world. . . . He dies intestate. Now what is the legal status and condition of the various citizens he has given to our common country, and what can the States of their birth or domicile do for them? A few words will show how difficult and important these questions are. The first wife's children are doubtless legitimate and heirs to his estate everywhere. The Indiana wife's children are legitimate there, but probably illegitimate everywhere else. The California children are legitimate there and in New York, that marriage having taken place after his first wife had obtained her divorce—but illegitimate in Indiana and elsewhere; while the second crop of New Yorkers are legitimate in the eastern States and in New York, and illegitimate in Indiana and California. There is real and personal property in each of these States. There are four widows, each entitled to dower and distribution somewhere, and to some extent, and a large number of surely innocent children, whose legitimacy and property are at stake. All these legal embarrassments spring from want of uniformity of laws, on a subject which should admit of no more diversity than the question of citizenship itself.

Amid the shifting sands of divorce legislation throughout the United States, we find one rock that, Gibraltar-like, stands immovable. The State of South Carolina grants no absolute divorce. During the time of the carpet-baggers, in 1872, a divorce law was enacted in that State,

but this was repealed in 1876, and in 1895 a provision was inserted in the Constitution, Art. 18, Sec. 3, as follows: "Divorces from the bond of matrimony shall not be allowed in this State." Since then her courts have consistently refused to grant divorces *a vinculo*, and the decision of her Supreme Court in a famous case has made it impossible to secure an absolute divorce.

But the charge has been repeatedly made that in that State the very stringent divorce law has produced great hardships; that it has been conducive to immorality; and has been a striking example of the evil effects of such a prohibition. These statements are not based upon fact. They are made by those who have never thoroughly investigated conditions in South Carolina; who speak from hearsay, and not from personal experience. It does not appear that these assertions are backed up by a single iota of proof, and I am at a loss to know upon what grounds this conclusion is based. Let us see what the people of South Carolina think about their law. We find this no-divorce law spoken of in the most eulogistic terms by her courts. Judge J. O'Niell, of the South Carolina Court of Appeals, in the case of *McCarthy v. McCarthy* (2 Strobbart, 6), uses this emphatic language:

It has received the entire sanction and acquiescence of the Bench, the Bar, the Legislature, and the people. . . . The Legislature has nobly adhered to the injunction, "Those whom God has joined let no man put asunder." The working of this stern policy has been to the good of the people and the State in every respect.

Judge J. Richland Witherspoon, in the case of *McCreedy v. Davis* (44 S. C., 195), before the Supreme Court of South Carolina, praises in the strongest terms the law that protects the sanctity of the home. He says:

The union of one man with one woman for life in matrimony is a mystery. . . . Its very design is its continuance until dissolved by death. It is a unit in social life. A combination of such units makes up society. . . . All admit that the true ideal in marriage is such a perfect union that leads to the indestructibility of the relation of man and wife; for in its very inception such is the declared purpose of the parties to it, and of the society in which it occurs. Such is in exact accordance with the moral law, "And they twain shall be one flesh."

I have received a number of letters from the Protestant clergy of South Carolina, and they are unanimously of the opinion that the no-divorce law works admirably. The South Carolina delegation in the House of Representatives, with whom I conferred in the premises, have nothing but praise for this law. They tell me that the people of their State would never consent to its repeal. Senators Tillman and Smith, of South Carolina, indignantly deny the charge that the prohibition of divorce has caused any increase in immorality. On the contrary, it is their unalterable conviction that the no-divorce law, which is the proud boast of their State, has been an inestimable boon, has placed the family on a higher plane, and has safeguarded the home, the bed-rock of the State. As typifying their belief, let me quote a paragraph from a letter of Senator Tillman to me, dated May 1, 1914:

The absence of a divorce law in South Carolina, is a matter of great pride with us. I know of no other principle so firmly fixed in the affections of the people. South Carolina, as you probably know, is ultra-Protestant in her religion, but she looks on the marriage relation with the same reverence as does the Catholic Church. Practically, if not theologically, marriage is with us a sacrament, and the curse of the whole State would

fall on the man or set of men who should dare to make it less. You ask if the absence of a divorce statute conduces to morality. Unqualifiedly, I answer, it does. Our women—God bless and keep them in his Holy care!—are the fairest and best I have ever known, and as long as our men realize that to each of them is given one and only one woman, just so long will they see to it that purity and chastity continue to prevail. A South Carolinian can not say, "I will marry this woman now, and if she is not the right kind, I will divorce her." He must make sure beforehand, and he, therefore, demands that his women be pure and above reproach. For the same reason, viz.: the absence of divorce, the women know that the men demand that they be pure and innocent, and they meet the demand. Of course, not all men nor all women reason the matter out, but the effect is the same as if they did. Consciously or unconsciously and largely because of the absence of divorce, South Carolina men tell their women:

"Bear a lily in thy hand,  
Gates of brass can not withstand,  
One touch of that magic wand—"

and South Carolina women obey, and happy homes and families are the result.

These glowing words from one of the strongest and best men in the United States Senate are a clean-cut refutation of the slanderous charge that the prohibition of divorce has been conducive to immorality in South Carolina. If they are true of South Carolina, why should they not be true of the entire United States?

We must all admit, however, that there are marriages which are unfortunate in the extreme, so sad that it seems the very acme of cruelty to force the couple to live together. In such cases, if we considered only the individuals, it might be wise to permit an absolute divorce and allow the parties to remarry, but all history and the laws of nature teach us that the greatest good to the

greatest number is the ruling principle in life, and that the sacrifice of a few must be made in order that the many may profit. Very often, too, it is the innocent person who is the victim. Behold the most innocent and loving of beings, our Blessed Saviour, a necessary sacrifice for the sins of mankind.

To illustrate my point, let us suppose the case of a young man returning from a foreign voyage and entering the port of New York. A wireless tells him that his devoted mother, whom he has not seen for two years, is dying. He would give his life to be with her and receive her parting blessing, but there is Asiatic cholera on his ship. It seems cruel to deny him the benediction of that dying mother and to prevent her from having her only son to comfort her last brief hour of life, but how much more cruel would it be to expose the entire population of New York to the danger of cholera. No one would advocate that the risk be taken. The young man and his mother must suffer for humanity's sake. So a limited number of unhappy marriages must be permitted to stand with separation from bed and board, but not remarriage, in order that the greatest of human institutions, the family, may be preserved from dissolution.

In the consideration of this subject I have been very much impressed and shocked at the great prominence given to divorce cases in the daily papers. Few issues of many of our leading papers fail to contain under big headlines an account, more or less salacious, of a divorce trial in some of our big cities, giving the most intimate details, baring secrets of weak human hearts to the public gaze, pandering to depraved tastes, making suggestions which probably would never have entered the minds of other couples, and thereby becoming an agency, not of

legitimate, proper news, which is the function of a newspaper, but making themselves the agents of Satan. This is unfortunate, unnecessary, contrary to the proper apostolate of the press, which should stand for the good, the true, the beautiful in all things, and never for what is low, vicious and depraved. There is no agency in our land more powerful than the press. Its printed words reach millions of hearers who never enter a church or read a good book, and never receive a moral lesson except what the press teaches. Tremendous is the power of the press, and great is its responsibility. There is enough news to make the papers readable without going into the purlieus of the criminal courts and flaunting all of the horrible details of a Thaw case, or the vicious immoralities of some of our great cities' "Four-Hundred" in their divorce proceedings. I beg of the papers and of you, young gentlemen of the School of Journalism, who are on the threshold of your chosen career, to consider this question with the greatest care, to bear in mind that you will be held responsible before the Eternal Judge for the least scandal given to one of His little ones. The true model for you and every writer in our papers should be such material only as you would be willing for your daughter, your sister, your sweetheart, your wife, your mother to read. You should never print anything that you would be ashamed to bring into the sacred precincts of your home, to read to your own dear loved ones. And to you, my hearers, readers of the press, let me suggest that you refuse to receive in your homes papers which contain demoralizing statements, which are sure to corrupt the innocent members of your family if they constantly feed upon them. A decent reading public can force a respectable press. Thank heaven, there are many

good papers which do not pollute their columns with anything improper. Subscribe to those papers, read them only, permit only such papers to enter your household, and every one of you will thereby become an agent in promoting public morals.

To the young gentlemen of the Law Department, and to my brother lawyers throughout the Union, I wish to give a little practical advice. During sixteen years as an active attorney in Louisiana, before I entered Congress in 1899, I refused to represent parties in divorce proceedings, and that is the part of my professional career to which I look back with greatest pleasure. Let me beg of you, my young friends, never to aid, by your professional services, in the dissolution of the bonds of matrimony. If a married person seeks your assistance, with a view of procuring a divorce, do everything possible to bring about a reconciliation, and if you fail in that you may assist in obtaining a separation *a mensa et toro*, and a settlement of property rights, and questions relating to children of the marriage, but do not assist in breaking the bonds. It is true the laws of the land permit it, and you have a legal right to do whatever the law permits, but bear in mind that marriage is not only a civil contract, but a sacrament, and as such you have no moral right to assist in breaking it, to become an agent to its sacrilege. The offer of tempting fees may make it hard for you to refuse such employment, but God will reward you; and every lawyer who takes this high position and refuses to become a party to the desecration of marriage with all of its consequent evils upon society and the State, thereby becomes a faithful servant of his country and his God: a true patriot.

I understand a movement is on foot for the organiza-



tion of an anti-divorce league among the Catholic lawyers of Massachusetts. Its members will pledge themselves "not to take any new divorce business, and to appear in divorce cases only to contest them on behalf of the libellee or correspondent, or in order to safeguard the rights of the libellee as to the custody of the children, or in regard to alimony . . . and to use every endeavor to bring about a reconciliation between the parties seeking divorce." I earnestly hope this organization will be a success; that it will not be confined to Catholic lawyers in Massachusetts, but that not only every lawyer in that grand old Commonwealth will join it, but every one in the Union. Certainly, all Catholic lawyers should join such an association, and if they do what power for good they could exert; what a tremendous influence in stemming the awful spread of the divorce evil!

Only a few days ago one of my Protestant friends, who is a good lawyer, and one of the best and most truly religious men I know, told me of a case in which a young wife, the mother of several children, sought his assistance to secure a divorce from her husband. He labored for several days, and finally reconciled the parties, who have since lived happily together. He was delighted at his success, and in talking to me about it insisted that lawyers imbued with the proper feeling can reconcile the parties in a great many divorce cases. He also urged that the friends and the relatives of the couple, by impressing upon them the idea from the moment of their marriage that it is an indissoluble union, that under no circumstances can it ever be broken, that if troubles appear they must be appeased and friendship resumed, can do a great deal of good; in other words, if members of the respective families, close friends, lawyers and the

family doctors would play the part of peacemakers instead of fomenting strife, innumerable divorces and incalculable unhappiness would be prevented. I heartily approve the advice of this good Protestant friend, and urge my hearers to act upon it, not only for the sake of humanity, but for their own spiritual and temporal welfare. "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

In conclusion, I appeal to all patriotic citizens—good men of every creed, and of no creed—to unite in a systematic fight against divorce, the greatest enemy of the nation and the home; home, which gave us our earliest and best lessons in morality; home, where we were taught to love, honor and obey our parents, and all lawful superiors; home, where we received our first idea of government, a little state in which our fond parents were the rulers and we, their children, were willing subjects; home, the greatest protection from anarchy, the strongest defence against socialism, and the chief bulwark of society; home, the maker of good citizens, and the model on which every wise government is founded.

**The Blessed Sacrament and  
Catholic Unity.**



## The Blessed Sacrament and Catholic Unity.

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*A Paper Read at Cardiff, Wales, July 11, 1914, the  
Second Day of the National Catholic Congress.*

Catholic unity is a perpetual miracle. It is the world's greatest fact—and the greatest fact of history. Yet it can not be attributed, in the ordinary sense of the word, to an efficient earthly cause. It is like the shrine of the prophet—suspended between heaven and earth. Nothing on the earth seems to be its adequate support; nothing in the heavens holds it in its place. Yet it has been in the world from the Whit-Sunday of A. D. 33. You might have prophesied that the tiny communities which sprang up in Syria and Asia Minor in the lifetime of St. Paul would have developed a score of schisms within a century of his death. In the days of persecution, when meetings, and messages, and intercommunication of every kind were all so many warrants for imprisonment, forfeiture, torture, and death, could any man have foretold that a united and one-minded society was slowly growing that would be able to put 318 "overseers" into one room in the fourth century, who would speak with one voice on the most abstruse points of a theology utterly strange to the Roman and the Greek civilization? When the Roman Emperors adopted the Church, would not a

mere man have shaken his head and said: "The Church will either stiffen into a superstition, or every tribe and people that defies the empire will at the same time fling off the faith or make havoc of the creed"? The missionaries that converted Europe from the sixth to the tenth centuries, how could they speak the same thing, and, more wonderful still, school those infinitely diverse barbarians to come to think the same thing? In Europe of the Middle Ages the miracle does not seem so striking. There was the Lord, and there was the Bishop. Having achieved religious unity somehow, and having settled down into what was, on the whole, a stable society, strongly held together by the sword, it was not so surprising that for the centuries during which this state of things lasted Europe remained united in religion. When the break-up came, the miracle was renewed. For the last four hundred years it has been true to say that the Church has held together in spite of hostile Governments, without any support from the civil arm, in the face of complete license of opinion, of speech, and of the press. The more closely we examine the details of Catholic history during these years, the greater the wonder grows. How did Catholicism in France manage to emerge, untarnished, undiminished, fully alive, and completely Roman, from the chaos of the Revolution? Or, to look nearer home, what were the chances in the dark days of the eighteenth century that our own forefathers, persecuted, spiritless, and isolated, would not have utterly lost their hold on the Catholic tradition? And in the days in which we live how are our Catholic multitudes held together? Not by force, certainly; not by overwhelming public opinion; for opinion and speech,

and books and science (so called) and the whole modern spirit is absolutely against us. Is it not true, on the whole, that all the great forces of the modern world are against the Catholic faith: money, commerce, politics, armaments, the press, organized labor, and the general social unrest of this generation?

I am not proposing to give a theological lecture on the unity of the Catholic Church. We all know—all here present know—that it is the effect of the constant presence and operation of the Holy Spirit of Jesus Christ. It is Himself always living and always working. By Him the Church never fails. By Him, in every age, the teachers never fail, and their teaching is always fully adequate and clearly audible. By Him the flock obeys the Bishops, and the Bishops are confirmed and bound in unity by the successor of St. Peter. By Him there is oneness of worship, in the use of the Sacraments, and especially in the sacrifice and in the Sacrament of the Christian altar.

These things are our commonplaces. These things are our catechism. Our belief in them does not in any way explain the miracle; but they are always worth our study and investigation. The divine power that works for unity is embodied in persons and in institutions, that are human, visible, tangible. And there is one aspect of means and methods by which Christ maintains His Church's unity which well merits the consideration of this Congress, because it seems to point to a new and fresh pressure of that mighty hand of God (Isa 1: 2), which, as the prophet Isaias so often said, is never diminished in its weight or shortened in its reach. I mean the institution of the most Holy Eucharist. That insti-

tution, taking it in its full extent—sacrifice, completed by communion—was intended to work many marvelous effects in the soul of man and in the world at large. But I believe that we are now, in these days, becoming more and more conscious what a powerful instrument it is for the preservation of Catholic unity. It is obvious, as I need not state, that the unity of the Church—the “peace” of the Church, as the Fathers call it—is owing to the teaching hierarchy, unerringly guided by the Holy Spirit. But the hierarchy and the Church’s teaching office is subject, as we know, to many human vicissitudes: to obscurity, to obstruction, to partial interruption. Even when most free and most effective, the teaching office of the Church has to be exercised by human agents upon human minds. It would seem that it is in the providence of the Holy Spirit to use the Blessed Eucharist, the most wonderful of all gifts, not only to dispose men and women to obey the pastorate, but also to carry on and keep up the unity and peace of the Church when the pastoral office is inchoate, or obstructed, or for any reason in any place is temporarily in abeyance.

No one can doubt that the participation or partaking of the sacrifice of the Mass, which is called Holy Communion, is intended by the great author of the Mass both to signify and to effect the twofold union of the Christian with Christ and of Christians one with another. As St. Paul has said, in a well-known passage: “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not fellowship in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not fellowship in the body of Christ? We many are one bread, one body, for we all partake of the one bread.”



The Apostle, in these words, touches with his finger one of the deeply rooted ideas, one of the most widely spread institutions, that have ever existed in human history.

It is this—that those who offer the sacrifice and partake in the victim enter into fellowship with the being to whom the sacrifice is offered. I believe that this is the only passage in the New Testament in which this idea is formulated. But there is no doubt that it is a world-wide and primitive idea—an idea as world-wide and primitive as sacrifice itself. One may read, in a book like Père Lagrange's "*Réligions Sémitiques*," how obscure is the connection between sacrifice and Communion; what texts have to be analyzed, what contradictions have to be reconciled. But St. Paul, who knew both the Pagan and the Jewish sacrifices, unhesitatingly lays it down as an incontrovertible truth that sacrifice—some kinds of sacrifice, at all events—includes Communion. Men partake with the Deity. Thus in the Holy Eucharist we partake of the Table of Christ; and this Eucharistic fellowship is, for the Christian, the realization or consummation of a great primitive idea, undoubtedly made known from the beginning by God to the human race—that it is His will and His prudence that a ritual fellowship between God and man, and between man and his fellow-man, should always exist to the end of time.

It will be seen at once, therefore, that the Christian or Eucharistic communion, or fellowship, absolutely carries with it Christian unity. It means and entails common devotion to the one Christ, unity in faith, unity in worship, unity in aspiration, unity in brotherly love. It does not dispense with or render superfluous the ac-

tion of a teaching hierarchy, because the Table of the Lord itself has to be set up and maintained by the living voice: Wisdom must "build the House, mix the Wine, and set the Table"; and for the real Catholic view of Christ's personality, for the working of the Church, and for the administration of the manifold grace of the New Covenant, there must be creeds and councils, and the unceasing vigilance of the episcopate and of the Central See.

But let us observe how the Holy Eucharist, that most marvelous of all institutions, fosters unity, stimulates unity, disposes to unity, and turns the heart to love unity. It seems to act upon the human spirit as a fine air and a genial climate act upon the physical frame, bringing a sound and healthy faith, and that disposition of child-like obedience which our Lord has declared to be an absolute necessity in all who would follow Him.

In the age of the Church's beginnings had there been only Church authority—had there been no universal "breaking of bread"—it is hard to see what earthly means or instrument would have held her together. Authority in those days was inchoate. The Apostles could not be everywhere, and the Apostles died off one by one. There were few formulas, no creeds as we know them, no canons, no traditions, no catechisms. The Apostles and their successors traveled from place to place and they ordained men in every city. But these men were learners themselves, untrained and new. They had comparatively no Christian education, and there were no Christian books. And when the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament began by degrees to circulate, still they provided no code or catechism, and even added, in

many instances, to the difficulty of maintaining unity. But the men and women—most of them poor and rude—whom the grace of Christ in these days separated from the world and gathered out of Judaism, had one article of faith that was their firm anchor, and one institution that made them a real society. That article of faith was the belief and love of the Person of Christ, and that institution was the Eucharist. If you wish to understand how living and deep was their devotion to Jesus Christ's Person, count up the number of times that the Sacred Name occurs in the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, and look at the Gospel of St. John and his Epistles. This was the language that was common in the infant Church—this belief in Him, trust in Him, worship of Him, imitation of Him, affection to Him. By this they were separated from the heathen. By this they were marked off from the Jew. By this they were kept clear of the philosophies and speculations—many of them very lofty and very pure—that had sprung up in Oriental brains, in these days so prolific of mystical speculation. It was round the Eucharistic Altar—round the Table of Eucharistic Breaking of Bread and partaking—that they felt themselves nearest to the Jesus who had lived and suffered, and died, and was living still. "Do this unto the remembrance of Me" was their inspiration. "I in you and you in Me," our Lord's own formula of Eucharistic fellowship, known to them long before it was written down by St. John—that was their inspiration. Seated at that table they were the new Christian society—the separated body (to use a word common to both St. Peter and St. Paul); the Jew and the Gentile were without. Seated around that Table, it was

folly and sacrilege to think of any other possible Table. Any other Table would be schism, apostasy, treason, and spiritual death. At that Table they realized how near they were as Christians one to another, as they each one partook of the same Body and Blood. And they realized also, at least dimly and implicitly, that Church of the living God whose foundations they were laying in the ground—that organization of faith and obedience which was to grow so great on the earth as the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

At the end of the fourth century that kingdom was formed; and for six hundred years after that, from its camp in Italy and the Near East, it had to spread over Europe and to absorb the barbarians. Many agencies were at work, and worked all the time, to make the kingdom one as it spread—the Bishops, with the Holy See, Councils, laws, preaching, writing, and the fostering power of kings. But all the time the Blessed Eucharist never ceased its unifying influence. What was happening? Wherever Christianity spread, the first thing to be set up was the altar of the Mass. There the nations were taught to worship. What they most needed when they accepted the faith of the one God was public, common, and impressive ritual worship. In these six centuries the great Roman rite of the Mass was planted everywhere from Italy to Britain, from Spain to Scandinavia. The populations could understand the Mass. It was well that apostolic men should preach, priests should instruct, and Bishops make laws. But the altar spoke to the understanding and the heart, and forestalled hierarchies and councils. The altar brought with it the churches—first small and simple, then more noble and

impressive; it entailed a trained and separated priesthood; it had to be provided with that most noble yet simple liturgy which the Roman Church, rejecting much that was Oriental and cumbersome, adopted for the practical daily use of the world at large. Thus, as the work of conversion advanced step by step, churches arose, the sanctuary was hallowed, the priest took up his watch, and the people were taught that every church held the same treasure, in every church was the same Catholic ritual, the same sacrifice, the same Communion. A man or woman became a Christian by a baptism which was intended to make him or her free of that Table. To neglect the frequentation of that Table was to risk eternal salvation. To be debarred from that Table was to be banished from the Church of Christ. Hence the Blessed Eucharist—with its temples, its altars, its liturgy, and its priesthood—destroyed the false worships, killed heathen superstition, joined fierce and hostile tribes and peoples in one faith, gathered kings and their subjects, warriors and women, free men and serfs, in one fellowship; and thus as the years went on, in the midst of strife, and much bloodshed, and constant change, a united Christendom, knit together by forces higher than those of flesh and blood, grew up around the Table of Eucharistic Communion.

With the eleventh century we enter upon the Catholic Middle Age—and, what is strange and remarkable, on a period when Holy Communion was less frequent than at any other time of the Church's history. From the times of Pope Gregory VII (eleventh century) to those of St. Philip Neri (sixteenth century) the great majority of Catholics received Holy Communion only once a year.

In monastic communities, the rule was once a week. In many orders, like that of the Poor Clares, it was only six times a year. Fortnightly Communion, of which these are instances, was considered to be frequent Communion. The late Father Dalgairns, who had studied the matter with great attention, frankly confesses that he is unable to explain the rarity of Sacramental Communion in the ages of faith. I do not undertake to explain it myself. But I would offer one or two considerations. First, wherever there were priests and churches, that is, a settled and stable ecclesiastical establishment—and this was universal in these centuries—the people were baptized, lived in undisturbed faith, received Holy Communion at Easter and at the hour of death, and, it may be confidently said, in most cases attained eternal salvation. Secondly, heroic sanctity abounded; yet the saints who were not priests rarely communicated—as we see in the example of St. Louis of France, who received Communion only six times a year. Thirdly, there was great devotion to the Mass. Many here present will be acquainted with the "Lay Folk's Mass Book," edited some years ago by the late Canon T. F. Simmons. First compiled, probably, in French, in the middle of the twelfth century, it was reproduced in English, in various versions, down to the Reformation. It gives a vivid and touching picture of the devotion in medieval England to the Mass, "the worthiest thing, the best thing in all this world, is the Mass. If a thousand clerks did naught else but tell the virtues of the Mass, and the profit of Mass-hearing, never for all their craft and art could they tell the virtues, medes and pardons, to them that with devotion, in purity and good intent, do worship to

that Sacrament." We find, in this popular manual, not a hint that the hearer might perhaps receive Communion. But we find instead an explicit petition that the Mass might supply for Communion in case of sudden death. And in Lydgate's "*Merita Missae*" (fifteenth century), we find this injunction:—"When he" (the priest) "is houseled with that host" (communicated) "pray then to the Holy Ghost: 'that when sudden venture shall befall, it be your housel all, and if ye be in charity that you may be houseled as well as he'" (p. 151). That is, the faithful were urged to make a spiritual Communion at every Mass.

And yet actual Communion was so rare! What is to be said of the Blessed Sacrament as the bond of unity during the ages of faith?

Two things, as it appears to me.

First, if Communion was rare, there was a universal, deep, and even fervent devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

Secondly, it was in the Middle Ages that the Blessed Sacrament emerged as the central mystery of religion, the crowned monument of the world's faith. It was then that it was glorified. All of us know something of the great cathedrals and churches of the Middle Ages. But it takes some study and research to realize the riches of these churches and their altars, in gold and silver, in ornaments, in vestments, in stained glass. Canon Jessopp's book must be familiar to all—and it fairly takes the breath away to read of the riches and the beauty of the churches of England in the beginnings of the sixteenth century. The Blessed Sacrament was lifted up above all Kings, all pageants, and all pomp. But not the

less gloriously was it lifted up in the world of intellect. It was the study of the ages of faith. The schools began by formulating the notion of transubstantiation—which placed in its full light and clearness the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence. Then for scores of years, there resounded in Europe the voices of doctors and philosophers—the greatest and noblest of them St. Thomas of Aquin—developing with astonishing acuteness and infinite labor the notions of matter and spirit, of substance and accident, of location and motion; searching out the meaning of sacrifice; mapping the region of grace; adjusting the doctrine of sin to the ineffable purity of the Most Holy. Then the patristic definitions of the Trinity and the Incarnation were used like mighty lamps to light up the throne of the Host. Then the Sacred Host was lifted up over the altar, and the mystic lights, which up to that time had stood upon the ground of the sanctuary, were clustered on the altar itself, and the censer of the mystic incense was flung up with silver chains before the Eucharistic throne. Then the great processions began, which the Church has loved for all these recent centuries. And then the tabernacles themselves where the Body of Christ was reserved, stood centre-wise, noble, and recognizable on the altar, and the lamp that was never extinguished became the symbol of the worshippers who never failed.

So that, in a society composed of many nations, with many Kings and chiefs, with innumerable interests of war and trade, with a hundred currents of Oriental mysticism, Scandinavian fancy, and Moorish speculation, the Blessed Sacrament stood out as a central monument of religious practice, uniting all in one society, magnify-



ing in all minds the Catholic faith, drawing intelligences into unity, and occupying the foremost place in the many-colored pageant of the world's life. The Blessed Sacrament, next to the Holy See, held Christendom together. And once, when for some half a century, the Holy See itself seemed to cease to rule—I mean the period that is called the great schism of the West—there can be little doubt that it was the Blessed Sacrament that kept Europe unshaken in its Catholic faith. In that ominous time there were great saints of the Blessed Sacrament on both sides—St. Catherine of Siena on one, and St. Vincent Ferrer and St. Colette on the other—and it was round the throne of the Eucharist that they, and the clergy and people of Europe, found that strong loyalty to all Catholic truth that made the schism no real schism at all, but only a darkness and a trial. But how easily, had it not been for the Blessed Sacrament, the Church might have been rent in twain!

After the Middle Ages—for we can only take summary views—came Protestantism. Our Blessed Lord did not give His Sacrament the power to prevent that great disruption. Yet, in France, it was the Blessed Sacrament that finally extinguished Protestantism, in spite of indifferent Kings and a lax clergy; whilst in England, and in many parts of Germany, the zeal of the people for the Mass nearly prevented the national apostasy. When the persecutions came, in this country and elsewhere, and when, as in early times, Church government was nearly annihilated, the Catholic remnant found their bond of union round the altar. In extreme danger and by stealth they managed to hear their Mass, and found there their catechism, their creed, and the Catholic

Church. When the worst of the persecution had passed, and Catholics in this country were exposed to a strong political and social pressure which for a long time urged them to give up their faith, to oppose their Bishops, and to make terms with Protestantism, what was it that saved us except the Mass and the Holy Communion?

I often think, when I visit the old chapels of venerable country houses, or the almost forgotten town missions of a hundred years ago, or the chapels of our first colleges and convents, that it was here the Catholicism of England and Wales was saved; it was in these hidden sanctuaries that at length the Catholic revival began.

On the Continent of Europe in the eighteenth century, the Catholic Church was exposed to dangers which might well have led to a worse disruption than that of Protestantism. These were, first, the philosophic indifference of the school of Voltaire and Rousseau, and secondly, Jansenism. In every part of Catholic Europe the leading classes, and to some extent the clergy were Catholics only in name, and Kings and governments were infidel, and oppressed the Church; whilst in the schools and seminaries, and amongst the most serious and respected Catholics, a false reverence and rigorism withheld men from the Sacraments. What was it that prevented a schism when Spain was ruled by Charles III, Portugal by Pombal, Austria by Joseph II, or France by the Bourbon kings, whether before or after the Revolution? It was the hold which the Blessed Sacrament had on the people, and the hereditary and inveterate persuasion among the masses, and among the bulk of the clergy, and the religious orders, that whatever theories were in the air, whatever political views prevailed, however

Vienna agreed or quarreled with Rome, whether or no Spain tried to exterminate the Jesuits, or France insisted on its Gallican "liberties," still it was right to keep up the Mass, to light the altar candles, and to enthrone and sing canticles to the Blessed Sacrament. When the devotees to the Sacred Heart began to spread—a devotion which may well be described as an intense development of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament—then by degrees it became evident, to the councils of Kings, to the cultured sneerer, to the preachers of veiled heresy, that there was no chance of the Church's breaking up. The whole episcopate became what is called "ultramontane," as it is now; the cloud of worldliness was lifted from the clergy, and they became as an army in the service of the successor of St. Peter. Government grew more hostile, and bad Catholics more pronounced—but by the time of Gregory XVI there was a peace and union in the Catholic Church which has gone on growing and deepening ever since.

We are now living in a period which, when its history comes to be written, will perhaps be described as the period of the Church's separation and isolation. The Catholic Church began in isolation mixed with persecution; she gradually laid her gentle yoke on Kings and peoples; her law became a part of the public law, and her practice informed and moulded political and social life, literature, and practice. Now the wheel has almost gone round again. The Kings and governments have nearly all repudiated her; secular law leaves her out; science and literature are at the best indifferent to her; and the great movement of the world—its wars, its treaties, its Parliament and its markets—ignores her,

sometimes ostentatiously, generally without the consciousness of her existence. The Church is nearly isolated; and in a sense it may be said that she is free. But her freedom in many countries is hampered by vexatious restrictions; and it must be remembered that even where she is absolutely let alone, she claims, by divine right, from every State, more than to be let alone.

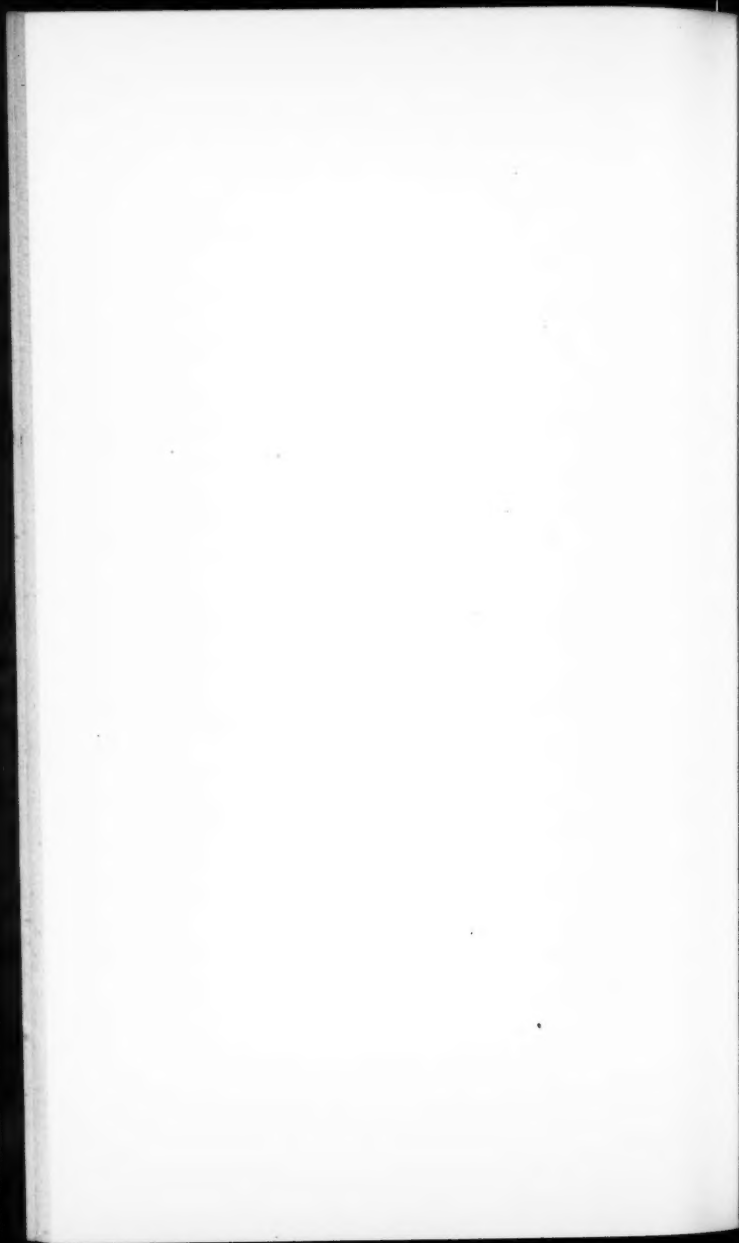
In these circumstances, whilst we fully believe in the divine immortality of the Church, in our Lord's word, in the office of St. Peter, in the protection of St. Joseph, and in the continuous intercession of our Lady, our confidence and our hope for the peace and unity of the Church in these days, and in the future, are inspired and intensified by the Blessed Sacrament. The primitive times seem to have come again. There is "breaking of bread" from house to house. The Catholic masses are crowding to the Sacrifice and to Communion. As long as they do that—in proportion as they do that—they need not heed the loss of State recognition. When kings went in state to Mass, and legislatures and law courts heard Mass at the beginning of their session, and civic and military pomp followed the Blessed Sacrament through the streets—these things brought Catholicism home to the people. But now it is the personal and individual devotion to the King of Catholicism, at His own Table, that keeps them devoted and enthusiastic to the kingdom. The "fellowship" that is realized in Holy Communion is likely to be far more powerful than the patronage of the State or the world. Catholics will find, and do find, in frequent and daily Communion, not only private devotion and their own perfection. They are coming now, more than ever, to comprehend that Holy

Communion, if it is worthy, carries with it supernatural loyalty to the whole of the kingdom of the Son of God on earth. It brings with it obedience to hierarchical authority. Nay, it, to some extent, supersedes the apparatus of authority. Visitations, synods, councils, may now in part be dispensed with, because the things that they were most concerned with enforcing can never drop into non-observance as long as there is frequent Communion. Frequent Communion means the training of the young in the creeds. It inspires the determination of clergy and people to have Catholic schools, even when they have to maintain their schools by their own sacrifices. It keeps them steady to that task which will now become universal—the duty of themselves providing priests and churches and the upkeep of the Christian altar. The Blessed Sacrament would stand us in stead even if things became much worse—as, indeed, they might, for a time. If the free intercourse of the Holy See with the Catholic Church were interrupted, the practice of frequent and daily Communion, to which the persecution would give redoubled fervor, would effectually put out of the question all schism or disunion. If they took away all our churches, we should somehow manage to meet for Mass and Communion. If they forbade us to assemble, we should never give up the Mass; like our forefathers, for its sake we should, please God, be prepared to brave imprisonment, forfeiture, and death; we should somehow find the Table of the Lord even in the wilderness—and it might even come to this, that the practice of the ancient Church was renewed and the faithful were allowed to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in their own homes until the hand of the oppressor

should cease. For this may be affirmed with certainty—that the frequentation of Holy Communion in these latter times has so taken possession of the intelligence of the Catholic people that it is likely to make persecution of any kind ineffective and comparatively harmless. They will never again be effectively prevented from frequent Communion; and that being so, they will never lose the sense of Christ and of His fellowship, and no peril will be able seriously to disturb the peace and unity of the Church.

The more closely and constantly Catholics unite in celebrating the great Sacrament of the Eucharist—by common prayer, by the press, and by meetings—the more will the whole body of the clergy and the faithful realize their Catholic unity, and, realizing their unity, the more they will feel both their duties and their power as constituting the kingdom of God on earth. It was said of old: “O Jehovah, when Thou didst go out in the sight of Thy people . . . the earth was moved” (Ps. lxxvii: 8). So, when our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament shall be fully grasped by the intelligence of the Catholic masses, we may expect “earthquakes”; “the heavens will drop down mercy,” and “the Lord will give the word to the preachers” (*ib.*: 6, 12).

## **The Index**





# The Index

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An ordinary phrase among Catholics, and one to which considerable notoriety has been given by recent proceedings against certain writers who were either known or suspected of favoring Modernist views, or who were held to be unduly critical of generally received opinions, is that a book "is forbidden," "has been placed upon the Index." The two expressions are not quite identical in meaning, as we shall have occasion to remark later; but, for the moment, we need not discuss the difference. "The Index," then, is a list of publications which Catholics are forbidden by the Church—that is, by the Pope, acting as Supreme Head of the Church—to read, in cases, even to keep in their possession. Spain had its own Index; and books were forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities in Spain which were forbidden nowhere else; but we are not concerned with the Spanish Index: it exists no longer, and, in any case, was of purely local importance. Further, we are to note that there are in Rome two congregations or committees of cardinals and theologians, which are called respectively the Index, or, more fully, the Congregation of the Index, and the Inquisition or Holy Office, whose business it is to examine the publications that may be delated to them, and to add them to the forbidden list in case they deserve it. But we need

not delay to explain their working or their constitution: they are merely the instruments and advisers of the Pope; their decisions are his decisions; their decisions are, in fact, only then published when they have been laid before him and approved of by him. You may hear the Roman congregations spoken of at times, as though in some way they stood apart from the Pope, had a responsibility and an authority of their own. In reality they have none. They are to the Pope what a committee is to the House of Commons. He appoints their members, defines their powers, receives their reports, and acts or does not act upon their reports, as he judges best. The responsibility for all decisions, when published, and their authority, are his. When a book, therefore, is placed upon the Index, it is the Pope who places it there. And it is with this action of the Church, through her official Head, not with the Congregations of the Index, or Holy Office, that I proceed to deal.

To place a book upon the Index involves two distinct things—the one, to adjudge it hurtful to faith or morals; the other, to bind the faithful not to read it. The former is an act of doctrinal, the latter of disciplinary authority. And the question we are now to discuss is this: Has the Church any power from God to do these two things—to declare authoritatively that a book, pamphlet, any writing, is injurious to religion; and to command her children that, because it is so, they must not read it? Set forth in these terms, the question appears very easy of solution.

For the Church is the divinely-appointed teacher and guardian of revealed religion. She is to teach men what God wills them to believe and to do in order to attain salvation; and she is so to guide and rule them that they may attain it. Now, she can not teach revealed truth

without condemning the errors which are opposed to it. By the very fact of defining articles of faith she tells us that opposing doctrines are heretical. When she qualifies an opinion as Catholic and certain, we know at once that contrary opinions are false and un-Catholic. It is a fundamental law of thought and language that contradictions can not be, at the same time, true; if you affirm one, you must, of necessity, and by your very affirmation, deny the other. You can not assert truth without repudiating error. And it is to be noted that it is in this way generally that the teaching of our Lord and of the Apostles was given to us; they laid down and explained for us the truths we must believe; there was very little direct reference to the errors we must reject or repudiate. But, as time went on, and as we should have expected, a more formal condemnation of false doctrines became usual. The successors of the Apostles continued to teach the Apostles' doctrine; but St. Paul's warning to Timothy became more and more abundantly verified: "There shall be a time when they will not endure sound doctrines; but according to their own desires they will heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they will indeed turn away their hearing from the truth, but will be turned unto fables." And as errors multiplied, and were propagated by their authors among the Christian people, the Church felt that it was not enough simply to preach and expound the faith committed to her; she should warn the faithful against the false opinions that threatened to lay hold on them. Hence the custom which became largely prevalent in the early Church of presenting religious truth under a two-fold aspect, of formulating the dogmas which were to be received, and then drawing out and anathematising the errors which were

opposed to them. Sometimes, even, errors alone were condemned: when it might be assumed that the truth held possession of the minds and the hearts of the faithful. And, as the Church Councils, so the Fathers of the Church: at times they wrote treatises of mere dogmatic exposition; then they mingled exposition of truth with condemnation of error; and again they dealt with errors and their refutation only. There is no need to quote examples; from the earliest Fathers and earliest Councils down to the latest theologians, to the Vatican Council, and to the Decree "Lamentabili" of Pope Pius X, it has been the fixed and constant usage of the Church to supplement and corroborate her positive religious teaching by reprobating the doctrines opposed to it. And, of course, the Church must have the power to do so. She can not be authorized and charged by God to preserve and teach the "Deposit of Faith" entrusted to her, if she must tolerate in silence the false interpretations which may be put upon it and may not warn the faithful against the false opinions which are advanced in contradiction to it.

And it is wholly immaterial how the false opinions are disseminated—in private conversations, in the lecture room, in the pulpit, by written or printed communications. It is the false opinion itself which must be condemned, not the mode of its manifestation. But writings, as is obvious, are the most effective means of propagating opinions. They are lasting; they penetrate where the author himself could never enter; they can be made persuasive by all the arts of careful composition; they may convert readers everywhere and at all times into zealous teachers. And so, if religious error conveyed orally falls under the authority of the Church, and may be examined

and condemned by her, it is clear that published books, whether manuscript or printed, must be subject to her jurisdiction. It is impossible to suppose that error could justly escape censure, if, instead of being presented to the mind through voice and hearing, it were offered through written characters and the sense of vision. We are not surprised, then, that from the earliest Christian times, irreligious writings were proscribed by the Church. Already, in the Acts of the Apostles we are told that after Paul had preached in Ephesus, "many of them that believed came confessing and declaring their deeds, and many of them who had followed curious arts brought together their books and burnt them before all." In the case of the earlier heresiarchs, when the man and his doctrines were condemned, his writings were generally condemned as well. Sometimes the man himself was spared; his writings only were censured. Thus the works of Origen were proscribed by individual bishops, by local councils, and by the Holy See. The works of Arius were condemned, with the heresiarch himself, by the Council of Nicœa in 325. In 418 Pope Innocent I condemned the writings of Pelagius and Cælestius. In 431 the Council of Ephesus condemned those of Nestorius. In 553 the Second Council of Constantinople condemned comprehensively the writings of Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Appollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and Origen, and then went on to condemn in detail the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, of Theodorus, and of Ibas: "the three chapters," as they are called by the Council itself and as they are known to history. But there is no need to multiply instances. Nothing is more evident on the face of Church history that the continuous practice, on the part of bishops, Popes, and councils, of condemn-

ing doctrines as religiously false and erroneous, and condemning at the same time the writings in which they are contained. With the birth of printing and the widely extended facilities for the spread of errors, the practice grew in frequency; an index or catalogue of forbidden books was drawn up; then the Council of Trent took the matter in hand, and formulated rules by which writings should be judged; congregations or commissions of high ecclesiastics were appointed who were to examine suspected publications; Benedict XIV remodelled and strengthened the commissions, about the middle of the eighteenth century; and the last revision of the rules and constitution of the Index was published by the late Pope, Leo XIII, in January, 1897. The tendency of post-Tridentine legislation is clearly to draw more and more to Rome and to the Congregation of the Index all examination and proscription of irreligious and immoral writings; and it is only rarely we hear of bishops and local councils exercising their authority. But such cases do occur at times; and there can be no doubt that, under certain limitations, the bishops of a province or a country may, and the bishops of a diocese not only may, but sometimes must, condemn local publications which are injurious to morality or religion. A bishop is bound, so far as he wisely can, to protect the faith and morals of his people. He is bound to set them on their guard against whatever threatens grave injury to either. He can and ought to warn them against preachers of heresy, fomenters of schism, agents of superstition, indecent amusements, gross violation of ecclesiastical or civil law. And, if there be publications, which either have their origin within the diocese, or are brought into it from without, which are likely to be read by many amongst

the faithful, and which propagate unsound religious views, or promote immorality, or preach sedition, or are certain in any way to cause serious spiritual hurt to the flock over which he has charge, surely he may, and in cases ought to, tell them of their danger. Let us suppose the case of a newspaper that maintains socialistic doctrines which the Church condemns; or habitually stirs up hatred between man and man, incites to crime and palliates it when committed; or defends a parliamentary policy which the Church has authoritatively declared to be disastrous to religion; or endeavors to create and foster dissensions between the Catholic people and their clergy—in these and similar cases the bishop would, beyond all doubt, be entitled, and, if circumstances rendered it expedient, might be obliged by his pastoral office to condemn the newspaper, and to denounce it to his diocese. He is responsible to God for his people's souls; he is answerable for the scandals which he might have prevented; and whether the scandal is given in the pulpit or on the platform, whether it is lived or spoken, circulated in books or periodicals or newspapers, he is equally bound to keep watch for it, and, so far as prudence permits, to protect his flock effectively against it. And his authority in the matter is a twofold one: he has a divinely-given authority, by the very fact of being "set by the Holy Ghost to govern the Church of God" in the territory assigned him; and he acts also as delegate of the Holy See, which confers special powers upon him for the purpose. "Ordinaries," says the late Pope in his Constitution of 1897—and by ordinaries are meant in the first place bishops—"must have a care, acting also as delegates of the Apostolic See, to proscribe books and other hurtful writings, which are published or dissemi-

nated in their dioceses, and to withdraw them from the hands of the faithful."

It has been said, no doubt—as it is almost always said when there is a question of ecclesiastical authority in external matters—that the claim to such powers is a very formidable one, and that they are open to very gross abuse. We must, I think, admit both heads of objection. The claims of the Church, like the claims of Christ Himself, are intolerable, if they are not well founded. If they are well founded, if her powers have been bestowed on her by her Divine Founder, we must only bow to them whatever they may be. And liability to abuse, as we have repeatedly observed, accompanies all God's best gifts and favors; it does not even raise a presumption that the gift has not been made or the favor granted. Besides, elaborate precautions are adopted against abuses. In the case particularly of the Congregations of the Inquisition and the Index an excellent system has been set up: minute regulations have been framed; every effort is made to appoint competent and impartial judges and advisers; and the result is that, during a period of three centuries and a half, their mistakes have been extremely rare, and scarcely ever has a charge been made against them of intentional unfairness. The wisdom of their decisions has generally been justified even of their enemies. A few years ago, when Modernism first began to attract attention, and some of its leaders were condemned and their works placed upon the Index, it was common enough in Anglican periodicals and papers to meet with sarcastic denunciations of the Church's action. We were narrowminded and retrogressive, blind to the true interests of religion, unjust to the thinkers and scholars who were directing the new movement and "fighting



against the stars in their course." Then, as time went on, and the new theology was seen to be only a reproduction of old errors, to involve denial of the chief truths of the Christian faith, and to negative the very existence of a Christian Church, those who had scoffed at us so lately were glad to make common cause with us, and to confess that the Roman Catholic bishops and the Pope had been wiser and more far-seeing than themselves.

But is it not an abuse, and a very serious one, as it is a fact, that the authors of impeached books and writings are not called on to make any explanation or defence? That their works are frequently condemned before they hear of any charge or suspicion of heterodoxy attaching to them? At first sight, we may admit, the objection seems a telling one; to condemn unheard appears neither right nor reasonable. It may, indeed, be pleaded that, where Catholic authors are concerned, they are usually informed that their works are under examination, and the particular charges are made known to them. Opportunity is sometimes given them to withdraw the work from circulation, and wherever it seems possible to re-edit it without its errors it is placed upon the Index, *donec corrigatur*—"until corrected." Non-Catholic authors receive, of course, for obvious reasons, no such notification. In any case, no injustice is done an author by condemning his published writings, without calling on him to explain or to defend them. It is the meaning of his book which is important, not the meaning which he attached to it in his own mind. He may have had the most orthodox intentions; but if in fact, and in spite of his intentions, his book teaches what is false and evil, must the Church allow its circulation among the faithful

without any word of warning or dissent? His good intentions can not prevent the printed page from doing just the same kind and quantity of injury which it would have done, had his intentions been most blameworthy. If there were question of punishing the man himself, he should, of course, be given opportunity for defence. But, when writings are condemned, no punishment of the author is intended, there is only question of protecting Catholics against the errors they contain. If, on examination, you find a food or medicine to be injurious, you do not send for the purveyor: you simply abstain yourself, and warn your friends and your dependents to abstain from them. The function of the Church is very similar when she condemns writings as hostile to the Catholic religion or to Catholic morality.

The Church, therefore, has a clear right to pass judgment on books and writings which affect religion, to warn her children against such as threaten danger to their faith and morals. And such warning is, of course, an invitation to refrain from reading them. But may the Church also expressly forbid their reading? And may she compel obedience by spiritual penalties? It is one thing to point out danger and even advise against incurring it, and it is quite another to impose the obligation of avoiding it. To do the former is within the right of every one; to do the latter there must be authority and jurisdiction. Now, that the Church has jurisdiction over all her members there can be no doubt. Every State has power to frame such laws as are necessary for the public welfare, to make them binding on the consciences of the citizens, and to enforce observance of them by fitting sanctions. State authority can not be limited to advice and admonition; the supreme State right is that of self-

preservation, and the very existence of the State is dependent upon wise laws and their enforcement. The power, therefore, to legislate for her own children and to insist on the due execution of her laws is inherent in the social constitution of the Church. Christ could not establish her as He did—an independent State or kingdom—without bestowing these essential rights upon her. And that He did bestow them we are furthermore assured by the primacy conferred on Peter, the commission to feed the lambs and feed the sheep, the appointment by the Holy Ghost of bishops “to govern the Church of God,” the action of the Apostles in their own dealings with the faithful and in the charge which they laid on men like Timothy and Titus, whom they ordained to carry on their work. The extent of such authority is, of course, to be determined by the purpose for which it is given. The civil State can only make such laws as the temporal well-being of the State requires; but all such laws it has a right to make. The Church of Christ can only make such laws as the spiritual well-being of the divine society and of its members appears to call for; but all such laws she, too, has unquestionably a right to make. And foremost among them, as it seems to me, must be placed those which are concerned with irreligious or immoral publications.

I do not purpose discussing at any length the Church’s right to legislate by way of “previous censorship,” to order that works which treat of religion or morality shall be submitted to her for examination and correction prior to their publication. She has, and has had for many centuries, very definite legislation on the subject. But it is not of any general interest; it concerns mainly those members of the clergy who write on what may be called

professional matters; and its principles are edequately covered by what we have to say on "repressive censorship," or Church law, as it deals with works already published. We may note, however, before passing on, a singular relic of "previous or preventive censorship," which was at one time common, not only in the Church, but in all the secular States of Europe. They have preserved in England the Examiner of Plays—a public official whose duty it is to watch over the stage, and to see that nothing is licensed to appear there which may work injury to the Christian religion, to Christian morals, or to the State itself.

But while the "previous censorship" has regard only to authors and to those of them who are members of the Church, and in general to the small section of the clergy who write on religious and moral questions, the "subsequent or repressive censorship" embraces all authors of any or of no religion, and all Catholics who may wish to read their religious or moral works. And we had better make it at once the preliminary admission that, in justifying the attitude of the Church, the claim she puts forward and the action she has historically taken, we are face to face with a prejudice never stronger than in our own time. Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, are sacred phrases to many modern minds. But we Catholics can have no part in the theory which underlies the phrases. Error, as we have already had occasion to remark, has no rights. There can be no rightful freedom for irreligion, immorality, sedition, or for any other crime against God or man. Man has no right to entertain evil thoughts, or speak evil words, or do evil deeds; and every well governed State has its penal code for public incitements, spoken or printed, to offences

against the State. No civil government could exist, neither public order nor public morality could be maintained, if unlimited freedom of the press were to be permitted. And no civil State has ever granted it. But, further, English law forbids all blasphemies and immoral publications; it will punish publishers and vendors, and will order the destruction of books and pictures and all else which the law adjudges to be blasphemous or immoral. No wonder, then, that the Christian Church should have power to forbid the reading of immoral and irreligious works. All the interests which she represents, all the objects for which she was established, are gravely endangered by them. The Apostles commanded the first Christians to shun all personal contact with heretics, not even to salute them, when they met. It has ever been the Church's will, embodied in precepts and decrees at times, that her children should not be even present at heretical discourses, still less join in the religious services of heretics, the danger of contamination is so great and the consequences of contamination are so terrible. But of what use is it to avoid social intercourse with heretics, even were it possible; of what use is it to keep away from their temples and their sermons, if I may peruse their religious writings, and drink in their errors, at my leisure and convenience? St. Paul refers to violations of the moral law, which, he tells the first Christians, "are not even to be named amongst you." The Christian conscience has ever recognized immoral conversation and immoral plays as grievous transgressions of a divine law. But of what use is it to avoid such plays and conversations, if one pores in private over printed immoralities? If the Church, then, has the mission and the authority to guard the faith and moral law, to protect herself and

her members against doubt and unbelief and moral corruption, she must have the power not merely to point out where the sources of unbelief and corruption lie, but also to forbid approach to them.

✓ The Church, indeed, in the prohibition of evil books and writings, does little more than exercise her divine teaching office, and emphasize a law which is at once divine and natural. It may be that some few works have been condemned as unsuited for the time of publication, or because of some intemperance of language, or for some violation of the Index rules. But cases of the kind are very rare. A book is generally placed upon the Index, and Catholics are bidden not to read it, because it constitutes a grave spiritual danger to the reader, and is likely to entice him into sin. It is already, therefore, in many cases, forbidden to him: the law of God and the law of nature are at one in warning him not to court temptation needlessly. The Church as teacher tells him that evil and temptation await the reader in the works which she condemns; and she renews, in consequence, and reinforces with her own sanctions, the prohibition of nature and of God. And hence it is that the extent of Church authority in the censorship and prohibition of books is well defined. She has nothing to do with mere science or literature, with history, mathematics, or politics. She has no authority to criticise, to approve, or condemn publications on such purely human subjects. ✓ Her province is revealed religion, the whole law of Christian faith and morals, and all that is intimately connected with it, as works upon religion always, and works upon profane subjects sometimes, are connected. It is over such publications only that the Church exercises, and claims to exercise, a right of censorship and prohibition.

And that is only such right as a father exercises, and is bound to exercise, within his home. He, too, is divinely appointed, like the Church, to teach and guard his children in the faith and morality which Christ revealed. And so he is bound to shut out, as far as he wisely can, all grave temptation from their lives. He is to watch over their friendships; he is to be heedful of their amusements; he is to look after their moral and religious training; he is to have a care of their reading. He is to see to it that their minds are not poisoned, their faith weakened or destroyed, their hearts corrupted by the books which he allows. No one, I think, will deny him authority to examine the publications which come into their hands, and to forbid them all such as seem likely to prove seriously hurtful to them. If he may and ought to guard their bodies from injury and disease, much more ought he guard their hearts and their intelligence. And if a father may and ought to do all this, still more may the Church do it. His religious mission to his children is subordinate to hers. All that he can do for their religious and moral welfare, every spiritual means he can adopt, she is also at liberty to employ. And there is this great difference between her and him—her children can never pass in life from under her authority. A day comes when a father's authority must largely cease; his children must choose their reading, as they must do much else, uncontrolled by him. But the authority of the Church undergoes no change through life. The power she has over us in childhood and in youth she has over us until our latest years. If the interests of the society to which we belong, if the interests of our own souls warrant her interference in the beginning, then those same interests warrant her interference to the end. No time

can come when she may not authoritatively warn us of the religious dangers that a book presents, and deter us, with the full force of her authority, from needlessly incurring them.

✓ No doubt it may be urged that grown men and women should be allowed to select their reading freely, unharassed by Church dictation and control. They are children no longer, no longer under parental care, nor in need of it. A formed character and their experience of life will be their sufficient guides as to what they had better choose. The objection, if it held good at all, would set aside all laws and ordinances of the Church in adult years. The Friday abstinence, the Lenten fast, the Sunday's Mass, Easter Communion, conditions of the marriage contract, assistance at alien religious services, membership of the Freemason and other secret bodies—what would be left of current Church legislation, in which grown men and women might not exercise an independent judgment, and decide what was necessary or helpful for themselves? What would become of much of the legislation of the State—the statutes against betting, drunkenness, immorality of various kinds, blasphemous and obscene publications, suicide, and the rest, if every adult citizen might obey or disobey them, as he judged most fit? The truth is that, in the things to which human nature is inclined, and which are hurtful both to the individual and to the social organization of which he is a member, restraints are necessary for old and young; and the social organization should see to it, in self-defence and for the protection of its members even against themselves, that the restraints are sufficient and effectively applied.

✓ But, admit the principle, it will be said, and an in-



tolerable power is placed in the hands of the Church: Roman congregations, the Pope and hishops can forbid whatever books they please; and no man or body of men can be trusted to wield such unlimited authority. Now, it is not true that the power of Pope or bishops in condemning books or writings is unlimited. They can only condemn, as we have already noted, what is injurious to the interests of that religion which they have been set to guard. No doubt they are the judges of what is injurious, and they alone. And they may err, and may even be influenced by prejudice; for we claim no infallibility for their human decisions, nor any absolute immunity from human feelings. But they are bound to exercise extreme care in their proceedings; and they do exercise it. Their methods, their rules, their practice are intended to eliminate, so far as possible, all likelihood of error and injustice, with the result that in no tribunal of the world would incriminated writings have a fairer certainty of impartial examination and just judgment than in the Church tribunals.

Our sole purpose in this lecture, be it said in conclusion, has been to inquire into the principle which will help us in our endeavor to determine with a certain rough accuracy the nature and the limits of Church authority—the principle that the Church has power, not usurped, nor of human origin, but divinely given, to pass judgment on books and writings, and to forbid them to the faithful when she finds it necessary.

And it is well we should be clear upon the subject. For there is a type of mind—and you will meet it even among Catholics at times—which can see no wisdom in suppressing religious opinions, or in shielding souls from religious difficulties, which may, indeed, tolerate such

action in a Pope, but thinks it past bearing in a bishop. The Catholic truth, then, is that General Councils and the Head of the Church, either himself alone or by his congregations, may examine and condemn publications which are gravely hurtful to faith or morals, and may prohibit their reading to the members of the Universal Church, or to those of any section of it. And what Council and Pope may do for the Church Universal or any part of it, that each bishop of the Church may do, if occasion should demand it, for his own diocese.

## Justice to Mexico

A STRIKING ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FACTS  
WHICH MAKE AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD  
THAT COUNTRY A QUESTION OF THE  
GRAVEST IMPORTANCE.

By AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

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President Wilson announced that American troops are to be withdrawn from Mexico; also that he may not relieve the non-American refugees in Vera Cruz whose lives and property are at the mercy of the Villa-Carranza hordes; and he has apparently obtained no guarantees for the civil and religious liberty which the Carranza program specifically denies to the priests, religious and Catholics of Mexico. Is the President, nevertheless, under strict obligation to protect the refugees from "Constitutionalist" rapacity and vengeance? Is he bound in justice to secure to Catholics and other citizens of Mexico their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? And are we bound in honor and conscience to see to it that he does provide safety for these refugees, and does exact such guarantees and see that they are kept? The writer is in possession of a mass of authentic documents that compel an affirmative answer to these questions. They come from American and Mexican citizens of repute, some of them filling responsible positions under both governments, and all recording what they

had themselves witnessed on the spot. Officials, citizens and military men of high standing in the Mexican and American service have also been interviewed, and they confirmed the documentary statements from their personal experience. Some of the facts so attested are reserved for the present; enough of them will now be advanced to determine the point at issue; and for all these there is incontestable evidence.

#### RECOGNITION OF HUERTA DENIED

In February, 1913, Felix Diaz's revolutionary army entered Mexico City and engaged in sanguinary battles with President Madero's forces under General Huerta. To stop the bloodshed the entire diplomatic corps, including Ambassador Wilson, and the Mexican Senate, agreed to send envoys to Madero asking him to resign. General Blanquet and some officers undertook the task. Madero shot one of the envoys dead, was captured and sent under guard by Huerta to a place of safety, and on the way was shot by a man named Cardenas who had sworn vengeance against him. Ambassador Wilson cleared Huerta of all guilt in the murder, and when he was elected Provisional President by Congress, February 19, recommended his recognition to the United States. All other governments recognized him and President Taft promised to do so when stability of government was established.

The inauguration of President Wilson followed in a few weeks, and one of Secretary of State Bryan's first acts was to issue a complete approval of the whole course of Ambassador Wilson. Soon a small uprising was heard of in the North, and the attitude of our Government suddenly changed. President Wilson declared he

would never recognize Huerta nor any member of his cabinet, nor any other except the winning candidate in a general election, over which Huerta should have no control. Huerta had established a stable government. He had won the confidence of the orderly elements in the population, including the American residents in Mexico, and had established order everywhere except in a few northern districts where disorder had been chronic. This had not yet become formidable and it appeared certain that he would there also impose his authority. Why, then, did our Government become suddenly hostile?

#### HUERTA REJECTS MASONRY

President Huerta opened Congress in the Name of God and called upon it to pray that God bring peace to their land and so legislate that God's law should reign in Mexico. It was a new departure, for no President before him had felt the need or dared to invoke the assistance of God. The people applauded, but many of the Congressmen showed hostility. Soon a deputation of Shriners representing both Mexican and American Masonry called upon Huerta, and proposed that he become a Mason, promising that if he did so and followed Masonic principles they would have him elected President and secure him American recognition and support. One of the deputies was Senator Castillot who received a medal from American Masonry for forwarding its interests in Mexico. Huerta's refusal was uncompromising and the manner of it was characteristic. Producing a Scapular he said that was his badge, and though he had not been as true to it as he should have been, he could not replace it by Masonic emblems, for he meant to live and die a Catholic. Later a formal proposal to the same effect and

with like promises, was sent to him in writing from American Masonry through one of his officials, but that officer knew better than present it. Soon thereafter the rising in the North began to take shape, and it is a matter of public record that a deputation of American Masons conferred at that time with Villa and Carranza and other rebel leaders on the border, with results that were mutually satisfactory. More than a hundred Masonic members of the Mexican Congress, who were in touch with the rebels, having refused to vote the necessary supplies, were promptly discharged and imprisoned by Huerta, as his powers and necessity justified. This act of defence against traitors was later made a ground by President Wilson for refusing him recognition.

#### OUR GOVERNMENT'S ADVISERS

Just at this period the late Mr. Richardson, Sovereign Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite, proffered the services of the Councils of his Rite throughout the world and of allied societies, to the President and Secretary of State in forwarding their plans for peace treaties and international arbitration. The time selected for this offer was significant. Richardson had been empowered, he said, two years before. President Taft was as keen on arbitration as Messrs. Wilson and Bryan, and was himself a Mason, yet the offer was not made to him. It was delayed until Masonic policy in Mexico needed government support. This it got. Thereafter our Government followed, no doubt unconsciously, the lines of Masonic policy in Mexico. Ambassador Wilson who, in agreement with all his consular colleagues, held and advised that the Huerta government insured stability, and the Carranza-Villa bandits anarchy, was recalled. The ad-

vice of the very competent Chargé d'Affairs who replaced him, and whose long experience and intimate knowledge of Huerta and Mexico had led to the same convictions, was disregarded for the counsels of men who had acquaintance with neither the land nor its language, but had Masonic affiliations and violent anti-Catholic prejudices.

Among these advisers was the Rev. William Bayard Hale, a preacher of unenviable notoriety, who flitted through the country, associated with Masonry and priest-haters, and having reported to Washington, boasted in a published article that he had decided President Wilson against Huerta, a boast that has not been contradicted. Mr. Lind, likewise a Mason and unacquainted with Spanish or with Mexico, was despatched as a personal representative, and he also associated exclusively with the same class, fraternized with Huerta's Masonic foes, manifested, with his family, his hostility to Mexican Catholics and their clergy, assured the rebels of American support, and devised means by which they could evade our Government's public guarantee during the Niagara conference, and freely import arms from the United States. This partisanship and this breach of faith by a confidential agent of our Government was proved to the hilt in the New York *Herald* revelations of June 28, 29 and 30, and was virtually admitted over his own signature; yet he seems in no degree to have lost thereby the confidence of his employers. United States Consul Silliman also fraternized with his brother Masons in Mexico, whose avowed purpose is to extirpate the Catholic Church, was a public supporter and adviser of the rebels throughout the whole contest, and at a critical period gave a public banquet to Carranza, complimented him on his success and assured him of our friendship.

General Pershing, U. S. A., performed a like service at Fort Bliss, Texas, for Villa and Obregon on the very day that some 600 priests and nuns, refugees from their vengeance, had entered Vera Cruz.

#### AMERICAN SUPPORTERS

These men were effusive in their thanks, as well they ought. Americans had directed their movements, aimed their artillery and supplied their ammunition, while our Government was proclaiming neutrality. Villa, Angeles and their friends were supplied with arms and funds by certain well-known American interests who sought control of the rich radium mines and the inexhaustible oil-fields of Mexico and their connecting railroads; Carranza was generously financed by the "Evangelical Union" and their American clientele, in reward for his acceptance of their program to de-Catholicize Mexico; and both received powerful support from the Masonic fraternity, whose purpose of making another Portugal of Mexico they were eager to adopt and qualified to execute. Masonic activities were mainly directed towards influencing American public opinion and Government policies. The moment Huerta refused to become a Mason or accept their program, they determined on Carranza, a more or less respectable figurehead who would be putty in their hands; and they spread broadcast through our papers and press agencies a thousand lies about the tyrannies and drunken debauches of Huerta, who they well knew was neither drunkard nor debauchee nor tyrant, but a good husband and father and a just and able administrator. While these lies were having wide circulation, the present writer interviewed over a score of Americans who were residents of Mexico City. They were mostly Protestants



## JUSTICE TO MEXICO

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and Jews, and they were unanimous in condemning these calumnies, in asserting Huerta's innocence of Madero's murder, and in declaring that all Americans engaged in legitimate business in Mexico regarded Huerta as their only hope for protection and orderly government, and that he consistently safeguarded them and their fellow-citizens while their own government seemed bending its energies to destroy him.

### THE SUPPORT WE GAVE

It is bootless now to inquire in how far the influences noted determined the Administration's action; it has certainly followed their trend. While the embargo against arms was in force on paper, Villa and Carranza were able to get large and frequent consignments of American arms over the American border, and when despite this convenience they had made little headway in a year, the embargo was raised, throwing open to them the output of our factories. They were also supplied with information from our agents that enabled them to intercept consignments to the Federals, and after all this had failed to bring decisive results, we seized the first pretext to enter Vera Cruz, thus closing the channel for Federal ammunition. At that time two Mexican Bishops wrote strongly against American intervention, as they were entitled to do. The documents were forwarded to Washington by Mr. Lind, in support of his theory that the only elements opposed to America were the clergy, the Catholics and the rich. An American officer remarked to a leading Mexican Catholic of American education: "This is the end of you." It was. The Niagara negotiations which allowed the rebels to fight and import arms, and kept the Federals impotent, hastened the fall

General Pershing, U. S. A., performed a like service at Fort Bliss, Texas, for Villa and Obregon on the very day that some 600 priests and nuns, refugees from their vengeance, had entered Vera Cruz.

#### AMERICAN SUPPORTERS

These men were effusive in their thanks, as well they ought. Americans had directed their movements, aimed their artillery and supplied their ammunition, while our Government was proclaiming neutrality. Villa, Angeles and their friends were supplied with arms and funds by certain well-known American interests who sought control of the rich radium mines and the inexhaustible oil-fields of Mexico and their connecting railroads; Carranza was generously financed by the "Evangelical Union" and their American clientele, in reward for his acceptance of their program to de-Catholicize Mexico; and both received powerful support from the Masonic fraternity, whose purpose of making another Portugal of Mexico they were eager to adopt and qualified to execute. Masonic activities were mainly directed towards influencing American public opinion and Government policies. The moment Huerta refused to become a Mason or accept their program, they determined on Carranza, a more or less respectable figurehead who would be putty in their hands; and they spread broadcast through our papers and press agencies a thousand lies about the tyrannies and drunken debauches of Huerta, who they well knew was neither drunkard nor debauchee nor tyrant, but a good husband and father and a just and able administrator. While these lies were having wide circulation, the present writer interviewed over a score of Americans who were residents of Mexico City. They were mostly Protestants

and Jews, and they were unanimous in condemning these calumnies, in asserting Huerta's innocence of Madero's murder, and in declaring that all Americans engaged in legitimate business in Mexico regarded Huerta as their only hope for protection and orderly government, and that he consistently safeguarded them and their fellow-citizens while their own government seemed bending its energies to destroy him.

#### THE SUPPORT WE GAVE

It is bootless now to inquire in how far the influences noted determined the Administration's action; it has certainly followed their trend. While the embargo against arms was in force on paper, Villa and Carranza were able to get large and frequent consignments of American arms over the American border, and when despite this convenience they had made little headway in a year, the embargo was raised, throwing open to them the output of our factories. They were also supplied with information from our agents that enabled them to intercept consignments to the Federals, and after all this had failed to bring decisive results, we seized the first pretext to enter Vera Cruz, thus closing the channel for Federal ammunition. At that time two Mexican Bishops wrote strongly against American intervention, as they were entitled to do. The documents were forwarded to Washington by Mr. Lind, in support of his theory that the only elements opposed to America were the clergy, the Catholics and the rich. An American officer remarked to a leading Mexican Catholic of American education: "This is the end of you." It was. The Niagara negotiations which allowed the rebels to fight and import arms, and kept the Federals impotent, hastened the fall

of Huerta and the triumph of Carranza, Villa, Zapata and the rest.

### THE MEN WE SUPPORTED

What is the character and what the deeds of the men whom our Government has supported in the name of "order and morality"? Villa, their military protagonist and just now the likeliest contestant for supreme authority, is an ignorant illiterate, had been for years a professional bandit and was guilty of countless murders, robberies and rapes. Captured by Huerta in the campaign against Orozco, he was sentenced to death for his crimes, and General Garcia Hidalgo, late Governor of Aguas Calientes, was ordered to execute him. His piteous pleas and promises moved Huerta to relent, and he at once utilized his good fortune to muster against the hand that saved him all the bandits, outlaws, ruffians, murderers and ne'er-do-wells of Northern Mexico, the scum of the population. In mustering and controlling this riff-raff and feeding their rapacity and lust, he has alone shown genius. His military operations are directed by General Angeles, an able man who graduated from the Military School of Chapultepec and uses Villa as the tool of his unscrupulous ambition. He is also advised by Americans, one of them a United States official, who composes his political pronouncements. That his associations have not bettered him there is abundant evidence. This extract is from an article dated June 22 by the special correspondent of the *Outlook*, his enthusiastic admirer, describing Villa's line of march:

"Following the artillery were the women and children, 400 of the former being part of the spoils of war at Paredon. Those who were young and pretty rode be-

hind mounted men or in buggies and other confiscated vehicles, while the mothers and boys trudged behind carrying babies, chickens, pots, pans, etc."

#### MORALITY AND RELIGION OUTRAGED

Rape and spoil and the execution of prisoners have been the order of the day wherever he marched and in whatever town or city he captured, and this has been the rule with the other bandits and adventurers who suddenly blossomed into constitutional generals. Daughters were raped openly before their parents, and wives before their husbands' eyes; girls were taken out of convent schools and delivered to the lust of the soldiery; and right now in Mexico City under the Carranza régime, convent pupils have been forcibly consigned to and detained in confiscated houses to which the officers have free entry. This is not the worst. Their ruffianly lust has not spared the convent cloister; and that this abomination has taken place frequently, gloatingly, and without hindrance or punishment, there is absolute and shocking evidence. Such be our instruments of "morality"; and the withdrawal of the embargo on arms supplies Villa with ample means of establishing it. Villa's murder of Benton was characteristic of his career. It became notorious only because Benton was an English citizen; and it is said in Mexico, and by a few well informed Americans, that in order to placate England because of our failure to secure satisfaction for this crime, and for the forfeiting of her Mexican oil claims, we reversed an act of Congress and relinquished our privileges in the Panama tolls.

Religion has shared the fate of morality. "I believe in God, but not in religion," was Villa's statement to his

admirer, Mr. Mason, the *Outlook's* staff correspondent in Mexico: "I have recognized the priests as hypocrites since I was twenty. They are all frauds, the priests. . . . I shall do what I can to take the Church out of politics, and to open the eyes of the people to the tricks of the thieving priests." Mr. Mason adds: "Apparently his program thus far is successful." It is. Torreon, Zacatecas, Monterey, Guadalajara, Queretaro, Saltillo, San Luis Potosi, Pueblo, every town and place that he and his subordinates have entered—are witnesses of this success. The nuns were everywhere imprisoned, or worse. Those who escaped were boxed in horse cars and thrown helpless and unprovided on the border. The priests and teaching brothers were imprisoned, buffeted and vilely insulted, several of them were subsequently shot after they had failed to obtain the \$100,000 to \$500,000 ransom exacted, and the rest were subjected to mock executions, sometimes hung up till they were senseless, and when every *peso* was gathered that their sympathizers could provide, were huddled into boats or horse and freight cars, and whether sick, aged or feeble, were cast, impoverished and scantily clothed, on our shores. Only a few weeks ago, September 9, the *San Francisco Chronicle* recorded the arrival on a Chinese junk of ninety-seven priests, brothers and sisters, who were thus maltreated in and thus expelled from Guadalajara.

#### SACRILEGIOUS HORRORS

The details of the like or worse indignities and wrongs inflicted on the representatives of religion wherever the "Constitutionalists" have sway would fill a bulky volume, and shock every decent Protestant or infidel. They have turned the churches into stables and dance halls, they

have brought evil women into the Sanctuary, they have profaned the Tabernacle and snatched the Chalice from the priest at the Altar, they have almost universally made public bonfires of the Confessionals, they have arrayed their horses in sacerdotal vestments, and they themselves have masqueraded in the vestments of the priests and in such guise had their photographs taken beside nude women to convince the world of priestly immorality. Finally, they have cleared all the regions they control of bishops, priests and religious, so that now the clergy and brotherhoods and nuns of that land, many of them natives, are to be found in Texas, Louisiana, California, New York, Europe, anywhere but in Mexico, if we except the 600 refugees in Vera Cruz and those still immured in Mexican jails. Five such, all Jesuits, who were also subjected to a mock execution, are still imprisoned by Carranza.

There is one other exception. Priests who were in bad repute or unfrocked have been retained and given parishes by Villa. Carranza has even appointed a Vicar-General. The religious program assigned them is drawn up by Villareal, late member of Carranza's Cabinet. He was a jailbird, who became a schoolmaster, shot one of his pupils dead, fled to Spain where he became a disciple of Ferrer, returned to become a Carranza general, and as Military Governor of Nuevo Leon issued a proclamation which, after reciting abominable falsehoods against the clergy, decreed: 1. Expulsion of all Jesuits and all alien Catholic priests, and of all others who do not conform to the government program. 2. Churches to be opened only from 6 a. m. to 1 p. m., and only by those specially licensed. 3. No confessions nor confessors, nor admission to the sacristy. 4. Bells to toll only for

national feasts and triumphs. 5. All Catholic schools and colleges to be closed unless they accept the program, texts and headmaster appointed by the government. Violation of this law subjects them to a fine of from \$100,000 to \$500,000 or imprisonment or both, and recurrence of it to suppression and expulsion.

This is rather a mild form of the general system; the educational program of Carranza's American friends. "The Evangelical Union," is in accord, but somewhat more drastic. Its negative purpose has been realized. Catholic teaching and preaching, which for a century had been muzzled, have been now entirely suppressed. Yet, despite the fetters placed upon religious education, on seminaries and on every priestly activity, the priests and religious of Mexico can well compare with our own, as testified by Rev. M. D. Collins of Jackson, Mo., who lived among them over twenty years. In the present persecution they have shown heroic quality. Those who have met hundreds of these confessors of the faith now sheltered in America and Cuba and Vera Cruz will testify to their evident virtue and Christian meekness, and find but one fault, that they lack the American spirit that prompts stout resistance to unjust aggression. Among their warmest admirers are the American officers and soldiers of Vera Cruz who contribute from their pay to the support of these unfortunate victims.

It is not only these who are in danger. All the inhabitants of Vera Cruz who have housed or helped them or the other Federal refugees have been warned that when the Americans leave they will be mulcted and punished, as all others have been who are suspected of Federal or Catholic sympathies. General Aguilar, Governor of the province, has paved the way by an order



on August 28, that all Catholic schools and colleges be closed and religious houses be abandoned within two days, under heavy penalties; and General Dieguez, Governor of Jalisco, who expelled the 97 religious from Guadalajara, issued a bulletin August 25, one page of which ran under the heading, "The buildings of the clergy belong to the people," and the next contained 28 names of the laity including 8 ladies who were ordered to pay at once, at the risk of confiscation of their goods, sums ranging from \$50,000 to \$5,000, in all \$280,000. This is the general practice.

#### TYRANNY AND ANARCHY

In Mexico City, where Carranza has been making some effort to edify American pressmen, *El Pais*, *El Tribunal*, *El Sol*, papers that made some show of independent opinion, were suppressed, the Catholic *Nacion* had, besides, its costly presses confiscated, and the exactions levied on business men and proprietors have been as exorbitant as they are arbitrary. There is no appeal, for there are no tribunals, and there is no protection, for the rapacious soldiery are the police. Outside the Capital there is no law but a rifle, and none is allowed to possess one but the followers of Carranza, Villa, Angeles and the rest, who are now adding to the confusion by quarreling among themselves, and are only united in carrying out the mottoes emblazoned on Carranza's banners as he entered the Capital: "Clericalism is obscurity, liberty is light," and sundry other devices attacking the Church.

That "they live to loot and loot to live and have no more idea of constitutional government than a Hottentot" is an inadequate characterization of the men to whom

our Government is committing "morality and order" in Mexico. An influential resident of Mexico writes: "It is unthinkable that Washington should aid and abet such men, and abandon to their mercy the poor refugees huddled at Vera Cruz. It is easy to let loose the savage instincts of the element now in arms, but can even the United States bring to a stop the avalanche of destruction it has started?"

It can and ought to try. If thousands of inoffensive Protestant preachers or teachers were driven to its shores by religious persecution, it would hear a cry that would stir it to action. It could take effective measures in favor of the Jews in Russia, and it can find means to protect the thousand of refugees that took shelter under its guns, and the hundred thousands of others whom its policy has put in jeopardy.

It can imperatively insist that civil and religious liberty be proclaimed and maintained in Mexico; and we as Catholics and Americans, as brethren of the persecuted Catholics of Mexico and fellow citizens of those who brought them to this pitiable plight, can and ought to insist that it shall. It was not bound to intervene, but it is now bound to ward off the evil effects of its intervention.

The writer of this article has no partisan purpose. He is a Democrat who worked for the election of the present Administration, and he is writing in the hope that mistakes will be so redeemed and injustices so repaired that he and the at least two million Catholics who cast a like vote shall be able to do so again. But justice is above party, and so is the precious clause in our Constitution that guarantees religious liberty. In preventing cliques of self-seekers and bigots from influencing our Govern-

ment against the spirit of that clause, and in extending this spirit beyond our borders, we shall be rendering a national service to religion and to liberty.

Against this program of American justice and liberty for Mexico, there are powerful secret influences at work. To frustrate them, it behooves us also to exercise watchful waiting, and to watch rather than to wait.

## AN APPEAL FOR THE PERSECUTED

*(Reprinted from America for September 12.)*

A long-drawn cry of distress has gone up from many suffering people. Men and women are in agony, and they are pleading for help. The fire of tribulation is upon them, and they are calling for assistance. They are not cowards, these victims of persecution: nor yet soft creatures, accustomed to dress in purple and fine linen and to fare daintily. They have lived a hard, heroic life of work and prayer and suffering. They were brought up in the school of trial: they were inured to all but inhuman pains. Their cry then is not a hysterical shriek born of irresolution, nor is it a whine from tricky, querulous lips. It is from out hearts ground in the mill of agony, crushed in the press of tyranny. It comes to us freighted with sobs and tears and blood, this plea of sufferers, this call of confessors of the faith of Christ, for whose sake and in whose name they undergo travail beyond that of the death agony itself.

Mexican priests and Sisters are beseeching us for crumbs from our abundance. They devoted their lives to God without stint: their work Christianized Mexico and gave to it culture and faith and hope of eternal life. And now these laborers of God's vineyard are hunted, friendless, penniless, starving things. The wild beast of the mountain fastness is more welcome and comfortable than they. Clouds of hatred have not broken over the brute's head: passions of ignoble men have not been converted into demons to hunt and torture him. Hatred and base passions are directed in full violence against

defenceless men and women. No force is left to expend upon the beast. The work of infamy has been wrought upon *them*, the priests and Sisters of Mexico. Well, too, has it been done! The bones of many a murdered priest are whitening in the land beyond the Rio Grande; the hot, scalding tears of outraged Sisters, spouses of Christ, have fallen on Mexican soil; their sighs and groans have gone up to heaven, pleading unto God for justice. Such are the trials of others, too, that they were better dead than alive.

They are wandering about without friends, without sufficient food, without decent clothing. They are suffering in body and soul. They are hungry; they are thirsty; they are agonized in spirit not knowing whither to turn, where to go. Hundreds are crowded into Vera Cruz awaiting in hardship a better day which does not dawn. Border towns, like San Antonio and El Paso are overrun with them; poor, innocent victims of a base policy born of prejudice and darkness, fostered by men, Mexican and others, who will be called to account for their acts before the stern judgment-seat of God, where shiftY diplomacy patent even to the blear-eyed, and calumny and a compliant press play no part.

This is neither the time nor place to clear the fair names of the sufferers from obloquy. They need no defence. Their work is their defence. They need no apology. The very sources of the accusations against them make the charges contemptible in the eyes of men of probity and dignity. Villa proclaims them immoral. His horde proved its appreciation of spotless morality by robbery, murder, outrages against consecrated virgins. Carranza denounces them as enemies of progress and enlightenment. Carranza would have been a bleeding

victim to the rain-God of his ancestors long since, were it not for the progress and enlightenment fairly pushed upon Mexico by priests and Sisters.

But this is no place for an unnecessary apology. The problem before us is to help those in misery. As yet no assistance has gone to them from us. Their persecutors leaned on strong arms, hid themselves in the shadow of great names and carried through their nefarious work by alien influence. Yes, the enemy of priests and Sisters was made strong by borrowed forces: the victims were lashed by whips lent from without. Is it too much to expect that these victims may now receive some aid from us? For this we plead. We ask help for suffering men and women, for priests anointed of God, for Sisters, espoused to Christ, messengers of peace and good will, whom enemies have made sad spectacles to angels and men.

Our plea is sent forth not in our name, but in the name of Christ who rewards the cup of cold water given for His sake. He who will help these penniless ministers of peace, upon him will God's blessing rest. "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy."

### SHAMELESS BRUTALITY

*(Reprinted from America for October 3.)*

Riot reigns in Mexico. Animal passions are dominant. Shameless brutality is the order of the day. The Carranzistas are in power: so, too, is the demon of hate and lust. A motley horde swept down the broad avenues of the capital, bearing banners that flung defiance in the very face of God. Religion was blasphemed, God was outraged. There was order in those ranks: those ranks broke

and anarchy began to reign. Houses were looted, schools were closed, Sisters were driven hither and thither, priests were made prisoners, thrown into stables, left there without food or drink, and then were submitted to a mock execution. This is the triumph of a policy conceived in iniquity and executed in human blood. Never since the days of the French Revolution have such crimes been done against innocent men and women. Never has God been blasphemed more shamelessly.

Imagine it, some twenty priests slaughtered like beasts by men who are held up to us as champions of freedom and enlightenment! Imagine it, consecrated virgins outraged by abandoned, brutal men called liberators! Was there ever a story of greater shame? Was civilization ever brought into greater contempt? The wild, untamed savages slew Sisters, but respected their virtue: Mexicans, Mexicans thought fit to be hailed as champions of democracy, lacked the instincts of savages and perpetrated sins that make decency blush. The infamy of it! The shame, the crime of condoning the acts of godless men who revel in an orgy of lust!

They came into God's temples and converted them into dance halls; they went to God's consecrated altars whereon the hopes and joys of men are built, and used them for bestial purposes; they used the sacred chalices for the same base ends; they donned the holy vestments and so dressed were photographed standing by the side of nude women of the street. They flung virtue, yes and decency, every shred of it, to the winds. Great men these, noble men these, champions of liberty, all of them! Can you not see it? They maltreated bishops, they tortured, mutilated, slaughtered priests, they outraged Sisters, they defiled altars, and chalices and sacred vest-

ments. They turned themselves into animals more reckless and wanton than the beasts of the field. Who could do more? Behold the champions of liberty!

They are friends of education, too. They destroyed schools, they burned one fine library, they broke and cast aside the instruments of a splendid physics cabinet; they sold stolen type-writing machines in the streets of Saltillo for a dollar a piece. At the prompting of a catch-penny American, little better than themselves in honor, they sent the superb library of a bishop to a foreign country for sale. In the name of democracy, they did the devil's work in very truth.

A Mexican bishop describes their exquisite tortures as follows:

"A leader of the bandits comes in and asks the priests to let him know where the money is. On being told there is no money the bandit puts a rope round a priest's neck, takes him out and hangs him for a time, or if there be no convenient place for hanging, he knocks the priest down, puts a foot on his chest and all but strangles him. Then several shots are fired and the living victim is dragged away with a great show so that his companions may be led to believe that he has been killed; the same tortures are applied to the others. One of the priests about whom Bishop — writes me says that he thought his end had come. After the torture he was cast into a dark room, and on recovering began to feel about, when he discovered his six companions in a like state with himself."

That speaks for itself. So, too, do other documents. Not long since the Vicar-General of the diocese of Tamaulipas, with provisional residence at Tampico, re-



ceived this note from the then commander, now the governor of the State:

"The day after to-morrow (Shrove Tuesday) I shall come for you to wash my feet, after which I shall demand of you all the money the late bishop left you. In default of the gold I shall hang you to the highest tree in the plaza."

Shortly after the scoundrel who wrote this published an article in his paper, from which the following "headings" are taken:

"No more Roman Catholic Churches.

"No more Priests.

"We need no more churches, only schools.

"It is not necessary for people to believe in God, whom no one can see.

"We shall not permit churches to be opened."

But why write more? The tale is sickening. Besides there are others in the United States who know more of this pillage and raping and murder than the writer. Let them speak out.

## RESTITUTION DEMANDED

The following resolution was adopted by the Supreme Convention of the Knights of Columbus held at St. Paul, Minn., August 4-6, 1914:

*Whereas*, persistent and continuous reports from Mexico furnish proof of oppression and persecution of the clergy and religious of the Catholic Church, the desecration of churches and spoliation of religious houses,

*Wherefore*, We demand of those who shall have any responsibility in the reorganization of, or framing of a new plan for the government of Mexico, that proper provision be made for restitution and reparation for losses inflicted under the name of government, and that there shall be a constitutional guaranty of freedom of conscience and freedom of religious worship, even as the same is assured to the people of the United States under the Constitution.

## THE A. F. C. S. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at Baltimore, September 29, during the annual National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, and in the form of a letter were then presented to President Wilson:

SEPTEMBER 29, 1914.

HONORABLE WOODROW WILSON,  
President of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: We herewith respectfully convey to you, through the Rev. Richard Tierney, S.J., and Messrs. John Whalen and C. V. Cunningham, resolutions which were adopted at today's session of the thirteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies and which resolutions read as follows:

Section 1. We denounce the outrages perpetrated against bishops, priests and religious men and women in Mexico. Thousands have been robbed, tortured, exiled and, in many instances, brutally murdered, and some of these were American citizens. Religious women, whose lives have been consecrated to the practice of every form of Christian charity, were subjected to what is worse than death—to the brutal lust of an inhuman soldiery.

Section 2. We protest against the unexplainable silence of our public press concerning these well authorized outrages. This mighty power for the formation of public sentiment and opinion has often made appeals even in the case of individuals; as, for instance, the Russian Jew, Beiliss; or Miss Stone, the Protestant missionary who was held in captivity by Turkish bandits. The Mexican outrages have thus far been scarcely mentioned by the press.

Section 3. In the name of sacred religion, which has been ruthlessly attacked; in the name of pure womanhood, which has been shamefully outraged; in the name of humanity, whose fundamental rights have been violated; in the name of Christian civilization, which is being supplanted by a rule of rapine, lust

and murder, we most earnestly appeal to our Government at Washington to do its utmost toward stopping this inhuman persecution of just men and women in Mexico.

Section 4. By reason of the Monroe Doctrine the civilized nations of the world look to the United States of America to exercise its great power for the preservation and maintenance of the fundamental rights of mankind on the American Continent.

We, therefore, most earnestly urge upon the President of the United States not to recognize in Mexico any government which does not effectively guarantee civil and religious liberty in the true sense of the word.

*Whereas*, despite the continued objections of decent men, the privileges of the mails are still extended to obscene and scurrilous papers, injurious to the rights of conscience, as guaranteed by the Constitution, and destructive of sound morality, be it

*Resolved*, That the Federation of Catholic Societies protest against such abuse of the mails.

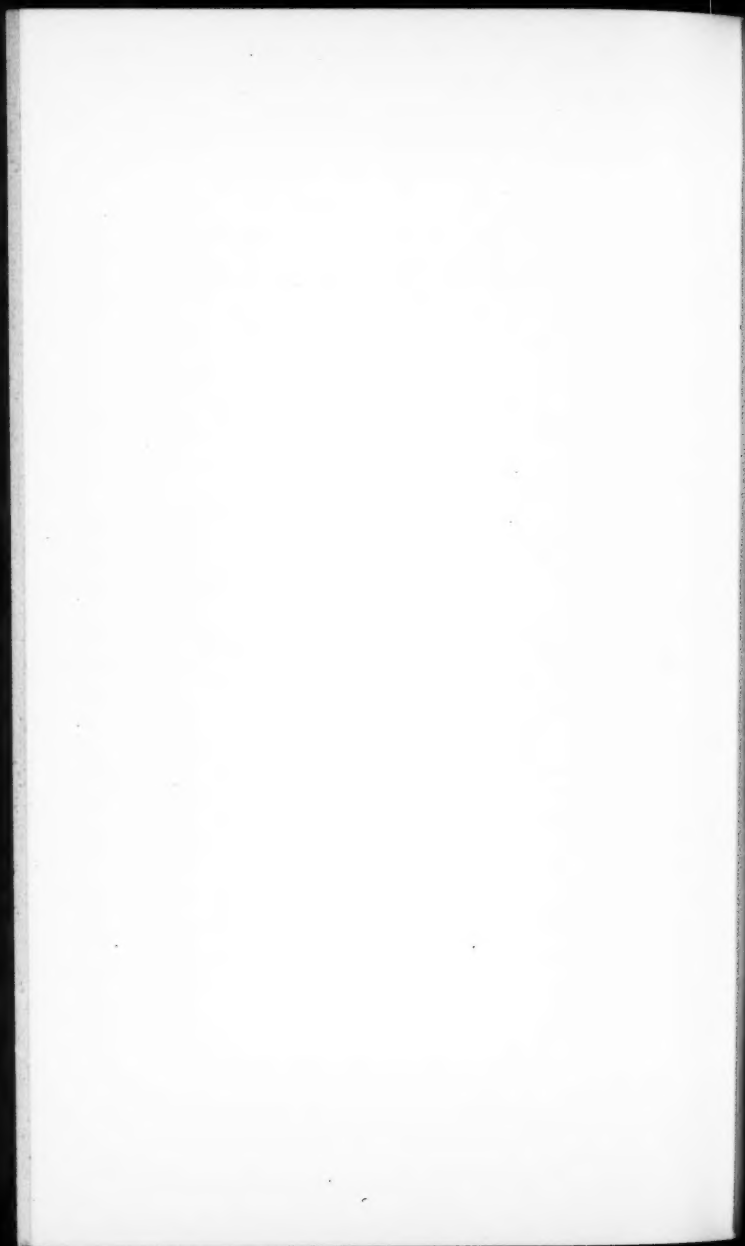
The gentlemen presenting the foregoing expression from the federation have been delegated to commend it to your earnest consideration and to convey to you the kindest regards of this body. We have the honor to remain, yours very truly,

CHARLES I. DENECHAUD,  
*President.*

ANTHONY MATRE,  
*Secretary.*

Let us hope that "Justice to Mexico" will now be delayed no longer.

## **New England Thought**



## New England Thought

A Lecture by the REV. MICHAEL J. MAHONEY, S.J.

It is my purpose to examine briefly in this lecture the sources and results of New England thought; in other words, to make a study of the soul, the spirit, of New England. Just as the well-springs of our hills and mountains express themselves in streams and rivers, so out from this New England soul, have issued the streams of literary, philosophical, religious and educational opinions, which, all students of American thought will readily admit, have had a predominating influence in determining the character, the mental outlook, the ways of thinking, the instinctive sympathies and even the deeply graven prejudices that sway the great majority of those active minds among us who speak and write, and who by their positions of authority in congress or college, in platform and pulpit and press room, become the public educators and the moulders of public opinion among the great mass of the American people. For while not forgetting or depreciating the other great contrast of influence in this land, it is fair, I think, to assert, that while the Virginian city of Washington has been our governmental, and New York our commercial metropolis, New England has been, and is to-day, the home of intellect and the nursery of men of thought. And as the freshening breeze wafts the winged seeds of the forest to open and unoccupied places, so did the adventurous pioneers from New England disseminate and plant their ways and principles of thought throughout the remotest regions of

the union. To study, then, New England thought in its native haunts is practically to study American thought.

With what precise phase of New England thought do we wish, then, to occupy our attention? Only that field of thought that is absolutely indispensable for life, without which society and government and morality and religion could not exist and endure, and which, for want of a better name, I shall describe as vital, shall be included in the present discussion. And by vital thought I mean that which is intimately related to life, that lies at the heart of things, that points out for us our duties and obligations, that makes of us all brothers and sisters in the irrepressible longings and yearnings of our souls, to find an interpretation of the alpha and omega of our lives—whence came we, whither are we going, how should we live, and for what end? In a word, that is vital thought that brings light and strength and comfort into our lives, that soothes our pains, dries our tears, hushes our fears, that solves the riddle of our destiny.

It is my purpose, then, to endeavor to sketch for you the extraordinary and capricious changes, and the mutually contradictory positions which Puritan thought in New England have assumed within the last three centuries.

Puritanism was not an English creation. It was born in the brain of a Frenchman, John Calvin, of Geneva fame. Nurtured in its infancy in Switzerland, Holland and England, it was wafted to these shores, not by the gentle trade winds, as some historians would have us piously believe, but by the tempests of suffering and persecution, as the cherished religion of Pilgrim and Puritan. Here it reached its full development and maturity: it bloomed, it bore fruit in season, but like all



human creations, it decayed, it sickened, it died, it was sepulchred in peace, and no angel of resurrection will ever again resuscitate its ashes. It melted like a mist, because, as Horace Mann has said in bitterness, "It thought not the existence of a God worthy of being loved" nor, it may be added, a type of man worthy of being admired. No pagan of antiquity, no heretic of the ages, no philosophic system of history, says Moses Coit Tyler, in his "American Literature," "has ever attributed to the Divine Being a character more execrable and loathsome than did Puritanism." It believed indeed in the Holy Trinity, but God the Father of Puritanism was not God the Father of Catholicism. To the Puritan, God was the direct author of sin; He foreordains men to commit sin that He may then justly punish them. The Puritan believed in the Divinity of Christ, in the Incarnation, and the Redemption, yet the Christ of the Puritan Fathers was not the Christ of the Fathers of the Catholic Church. To the Catholic, Christ died for all men and wishes all to be saved; to the Puritan, Christ died only for the elect few, and so far was Puritanism from teaching that the merits of the Redemption extended to all, that it held the rather odious doctrine that the vast majority of the human race was foreordained, no matter what they might do in life, to eternal perdition, pointedly illustrating the facetious old rhyme:

Men can and men can't,  
Men would and men won't,  
They're damned if they do,  
And they're damned if they don't.

This ferocious creed, Michael Wigglesworth of Malden fame, gave undisguised utterance to, in his uncouth and

sulphurous poem, written in 1669, and entitled "The Day of Doom," that stands in New England literature as a grim monument to the capricious tyranny of the Deity of Puritanism, and is without a counterpart in any other literature of the world.

The Puritan conception of man was no less degrading. Human nature was believed to be totally depraved, man was not by nature a moral being; freedom of will was denied him, he was an intellectual beast, the monster of creation, the plaything of dire necessity, who could grovel in his evil passions unto sin, but not head against them unto virtue. And yet it can not be gainsaid that Puritanism did produce many men and women of high and unimpeachable natural virtues. How explain this anomaly? Because it frequently happens that we are all, at times, so happily illogical that our practice is better than our principles, and our actions often belie our theories. If it is hard for consistent thinking to understand the exalted virtue which has ever been associated with the Puritan name, it is even more difficult to comprehend how a people who denied to man the noble prerogative of individual freedom, could have appropriated to themselves the unique honor of becoming for the human race, the champions of political liberty.

I ask, then, in all seriousness, the question, was Calvinistic Puritanism true? If it were, why did it not survive? For one grand character of truth is its persistence, its capability of enduring the test of the stern experience of actual life, and coming unchanged out of every form of fair discussion. Puritanism has failed under this vital test. Despite the bold confidence expressed by John Adams, in the Continental Congress of Philadelphia, that "a change in the solar system might be expected as soon

as a change in the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts," Puritanism did gradually decay, corroded by dissensions from within and battered by invading influences from without. Joseph Henry Allen, late lecturer on ecclesiastical history in Harvard, has said:

As a system of thought Puritanism has had its day. Intellectually, Calvinism is, so to speak, dead. No philosophic writer of the present day ever thinks of the answer it once gave to the awful riddle of the universe. .

Nor has Puritanism perished as a system of vital thought in the sense that it was cut down as a woodsman fells an oak in the forest and then leaves the living stump to throw out in time new saplings to renew the vacant shade. Rather it has been eradicated root, trunk, and branch from the souls of men.

What new fashion of thought took the place of Puritanism? That novelty was an importation. To use a familiar phrase, it "was made" in England. It was patented by its founder, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was called Deism.

Now, the American mind is more practical than speculative. If we except the rag-bag remnants of all philosophies jumbled together in the superstition of Eddyism, America has not yet given to the world any original, native system of speculative thought. Our ears are ever to the ground, despite our sense of independence, to catch the echoes of foreign novelties in speculative thinking. We are as sensitive to the influence of European modes of thought as the thermometer to the rise and fall of temperature. Even foreign titles are a marriageable asset. Perhaps if we placed a high tariff

on foreign thought, as we do on foreign manufactured goods, we might foster our infant industry in native speculation. Thus it happened that English and French Deism in the revolutionary days of Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Thomas Paine and Ethan Allen—all Deists, became the thought-fashion of the hour. It was the spirit of Deism and not of Puritanism that presided over the birth of our Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

What, then, is Deism? Deism is the force that snatched the Bible from the hands of English Protestantism and New England Puritanism, flung it aside, and openly asserted that Revelation was only a romantic invention of sentimental minds. The Deist, armed with the same deadly weapon of individualistic judgment in matters of religion and morality, which the Protestant and Puritan put into his hands, demolished all that was left of revealed truths in the religion of both and relegated them to the realm of myths. The Deist accosted the bewildered Puritan and said:

You have attempted to interpret your Bible by the light of your own individual reason; you have gathered from it an idea of God that is monstrous and a conception of man that is degrading. Abandon the Bible of Revelation, which you have evidently misunderstood, and substitute for it as the only source of truth, the works of God in nature. Shut out the voice of heaven, place all your sufficiency in human reason; hearken to the voice of nature: "find sermons in stones and good in everything." With the Englishman Collins trust not in prophecy, with Woolston believe not in miracles, with Fendal deny revelation, with Morgan abandon the Old Testament and with Chubb inveigh against Christian morality. Take up the pick of the geologist, the scalpel of the anatomist, the test-tube of the chemist, the telescope of the astronomer; draw the lightning from the clouds, study the natural sciences and, whatever knowledge you may

glean from their data about God and the soul, let that be your religion.

Such in brief is Deism, a system "cribbed, cabined and confined" within the barriers of natural reason. As a reactionary force against Puritanism, it captured the leading intellects of New England. And, strange to say, on the eve of our Revolutionary War, when the Colonies were girding themselves to throw off the political yoke of England, that same old England imposed upon the religious soul of New England, the thralldom of her newly-framed yoke of Deism. For what the old Puritans strongly asserted, that the new Deists flatly denied. With fierce tenacity the ancient Puritan clasped the Bible of Revelation; the Deist was satisfied with his Bible of nature. Deism was essentially a retrograde movement. It would not only deprive Hebrew history of the light of Revelation that kept shining in the midst of an idolatrous and darkened world, the knowledge of the true God; but would extinguish from the pages of modern history as a myth, the pure, white light of the Christian faith, to which we owe all western civilization. You see, then, what Deism is, nothing short of a refined paganism.

Deism did, indeed, admit a personal God as the cause of the universe. But once having created the world, once having set in motion the forces which we call the laws of nature, as a watchmaker would construct and adjust and set moving the wheels of a watch, then did the Deists conceive of their Deity as living apart from His own creation, permitting it to wag as it would without care for, or interference with, its activities. To the Deist no special Providence of God could possibly find a place to suspend or change the rigid mechanism of nature's laws. that grind out the grist of your life and mine. Prayer

would be unavailing, because the Deist's Deity has no concern for his creatures. The miracles of Lourdes to-day would, according to Deistic principles, be an impossibility, because to a Deist the laws of nature are inexorably fixed. If the God of Puritanism was tyrannically cruel, the God of Deism was indifferent and implacable.

This gratuitous assumption that banishes all special and supernatural intervention between God and His creatures, the fruit of popular Deism, call it by the name of naturalism, liberalism, rationalism, or what you wish, permeates the atmosphere of non-Catholic thought in New England to-day. It is woven into our literature, we hear it from platform and pulpit, we read it in books, magazines and newspapers, we breathe it in conversation. Is there any danger that this subtle spirit may insinuate itself unconsciously into our Catholic hearts, and color our Catholic thought? Adopt the system of thought that exiles God from his own world, and you remove the only barrier that blocks the way to socialism, divorce, feminism, education without religion, saying what you please, thinking what you please, and doing what you please.

For in America to-day the most prominent expression of Deistic principles is embodied in the religion of Unitarianism, and its propagating centre is preeminently the Harvard University. It may be interesting to trace the main current of thought that accomplished the extraordinary revolution that forced Harvard to strike its Puritan colors and surrender unconditionally to the forces of Unitarianism. But before sketching this most instructive of intellectual campaigns, let us first recall what Unitarianism means. In brief, it is nothing else but a

refined and more elevated form of Deism. Like Deism it rejects all objective revelation in the Catholic senses, denies the real Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, the Divinity of Christ, the Redemption, the infallibility of the Bible, eternal torments, and the other orthodox beliefs upon which the great churches of Christendom continue to place emphasis. In an effort to popularize their views, some Unitarians have composed a working form of creed, the substance of which runs thus:

We believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the leadership of Christ, salvation by character, the progress of mankind upward and onward.

"The leadership of Christ" is significant. Unitarianism views Christ as a man of larger endowments, of more devout piety, of truer and deeper philanthropy than other men. They well concede Him to be the most perfect representative of our race, the teacher of the most sublime code of morals the world ever knew. They will speak of Christ in the most respectful and laudatory terms. Still they see in Him but a mere man, and though their leader, they will yet classify Him in the same category as Homer, or Socrates, or Plato, or Shakespeare. How the Unitarians can reconcile their conception of Christ's high intelligence and noble character with their denial of His divinity, it is difficult to understand. For were He not God, which He so frequently asserted, then to an Unitarian He must be either an impostor or a simpleton. An intelligent impostor, because He claimed to be God, when He knew He was not, or a sincere and upright simpleton, because He naively imagined He was what He really was not.

Unitarians do not believe in the existence of divine grace, for that is supernatural. Hence they fall back on salvation by character. We Catholics likewise admire the grandeur of a noble, natural character. To be a saint, you must first be a man. And manhood and womanhood consist in character. Yet, no matter how much emphasis is now placed upon character in our books on education, character alone will not save us. Catholics hold that however estimable our character may be, we must,

to be saved, be born again in Christ, to a supernatural life, through the efficacy of divine grace.

What were the vicissitudes of thought that changed Harvard from being the stronghold of Puritanism for more than two centuries, to becoming what it is to-day, the centre of Unitarianism in New England?

Harvard was founded in 1636, for the double purpose of providing a seminary for the training of Puritan ministers and the education of the laity "in piety, morality and learning." Its coat-of-arms, *Veritas Christo et Ecclesiae*, tersely expressed its object. The interpretation attached to this motto to-day would be meaningless, nay, even contradictory, to the belief of the old Puritans. But what of that? During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the influence of the British Deistic writers was hanging like an invading army upon the outposts of Puritanism. They did not dare attack directly the solemn visaged Puritans strongly entrenched behind the battlements of Harvard. Calmly and imperceptibly, yet effectively and persuasively the Deists hoped rather to tamper with the loyalty of the Puritan garrison. Their policy succeeded. In 1713, Cotton Mather published his "Reasonable Religion," which by its very title manifested its rationalistic tendency. The alarm was sounded to repel the insinuating tendencies of the new thought. And in 1755 the Dudleian course of lectures was established in Harvard for the avowed purpose of strengthening Puritanism. But in vain. The ablest of the lecturers, among whom were President Edward Holyoke, President Andrew Eliot, President Samuel Langdon, though professedly orthodox, and intentionally conservative, were yet unconsciously perhaps, but surely drifting down the current set in motion by English Deistic thought. The



distorted interpretations of revealed truth accepted by ancient Puritanism, the doctrine of human depravity, the aristocracy of special election by heaven claimed by the select saints of New England, the denial of human freedom, were little adapted to human nature and did not approve themselves to the leaders of the Dudleian lecturers. The sunny optimism expressed in the following passage from Cotton Mather's "Christian Philosopher" was gradually silvering the gloomy pessimism of the Puritanic Dudleians. Mather says:

Never does one endowed with reason do anything more reasonable, than when he makes everything that occurs to him, in the vast fabric of the world, an incentive to such thoughts as these: Verily there is a glorious Deity!

The clouds of Puritanism, though breaking, still hovered over the skies of Harvard. It was not "Fair Harvard" yet. Not until after the War of 1812 with England did the influence of a distinguished graduate and for a time divinity lecturer in Harvard, William Ellery Channing, slough off, as a serpent does his decayed skin, the entire dead mass of counterfeit revelation which the spurious interpretation of Puritanism had built up, and substituted in its place the Unitarian persuasion, that frankly denies every revealed truth of historical Christianity, whether Catholic, Protestant or Puritan, and inaugurated in Harvard and New England the exclusive reign of Reason.

The funeral cortège of Puritanism had now passed down the avenue of Harvard; W. E. Channing, if not the chief mourner, was at least the leading pall-bearer. And when the Harvard worthies returned to their ancient halls, there sat Reason unabashed, under the guise of

Unitarianism, in the very chair of honor, which Puritanism had jealously occupied for two centuries.

In this rapid excursion, then, over the line of march which the thought of New England has followed from 1620 to the beginning of the nineteenth century, this remarkable phenomenon meets the eye of the observer at every step. While the Catholic Church has not only not been disturbed or disorganized, but has actually prospered and grown stronger before the menacing front of rationalistic criticism, the forces of "Protest" or Protestantism have left in their wake only the scattered ruins of those systems of vital thought which they themselves had successviely set up. Protestantism protested against Catholicism, Puritanism protested against Anglican Protestaptism, Deism protested against Puritanism, and Unitarianism protested against Deism. Truly, "Protest" has come to this, that the rejection of all established doctrine, whether human or divine, is become its sole doctrine.

Nor is the end yet. Reason unabashed is now, in the early years of the nineteenth century, crowned in Harvard with the diadem plucked from the brow of Puritanism. One would imagine that the maw of destruction would at last be satisfied. But no. The iconoclast forces of "Protest" have not yet spent their fury. What shall now be the object of their attack? Not revelation or the supernatural. To its own satisfaction they have been demolished. Nothing is left for "Protesting" reason to destroy, in the name of reason, except reason itself.

I shall now endeavor to show you how the last remaining rock of truth for humanity, God-given reason itself, has been shattered by the battery of "dissent" forged by Protestantism.

The first red force of anarchy that opened the attack against the eternal constitutional government of reason over the human mind was Transcendentalism.

What is the origin of Transcendentalism, and what does it teach? Just as Deism was imported from England and France, so Transcendentalism was an immigrant to our shores from the home-land of the Reformation, Germany. It was an offshoot of the philosophy of Kant, planted in New England soil. Indeed, Transcendentalism is nothing else but Kantian philosophy spoken with a Yankee accent. For, since about 1860, intellectual New England has, strange to say, abandoned her English motherland and sits to-day at the feet of Germany for her inspiration. I shall not venture to decide whether this unexpected change of heart is for better or for worse. New England Transcendentalism was the first fruit of this Germanizing influence. And the simplest method of reaching the root-principles of Transcendentalism is, I think, to set before you in their own words, some of the most striking pronouncements of the leaders in this polysyllabled thought—of Bronson Alcott, Theodore Parker, and of him who is the sovereign pontiff of our native New England Transcendentalism, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Bronson Alcott once made to Henry Brownson this extraordinary assertion:

I am God. I am greater than God; God is one of my ideas; I therefore contain God; greater is the container than the contained. Therefore am I greater than God.

Mark how Parker is in accord with the same doctrine. He says:

Protestantism delivers us from the tyranny of the Church,

and carries us back to the Bible; Biblical criticism (that is, rationalism) frees us from the thralldom of the Scriptures and brings us back to the authority of Christ, philosophical spiritualism (that is, Transcendentalism) liberates us from all personal and private authority and restores us to God, the primeval fountain whence the Church, the Scriptures and Christ Himself drew all the water of life to fill their urns.

And who is this God to whom we are restored? Theodore Parker tells us plainly it is our own individual soul, when he says: "Christ is not the author of Christianity, its sanction and authority—we verify the eternal truth in our own soul." Parker would bow to no standard of truth outside himself. What he thought true must be true, just because he thought so, for his individualistic self was the sole standard of truth.

Emerson's teaching runs in the same groove. He says, defining what is right and what is wrong: "The only right is what is according to my constitution, the only wrong is what is against it." We almost shudder at the satanic pride in this self-conceited egotism of the New England Transcendental seers.

The Transcendentalist did not deign to reason; he despised logic, gloried in contradiction and inconsistency. Why? Because forsooth he is a god. A god does not reason to truth. The process is too slow and imperfect—suitable to a man. But he thinks truth immediately, or, to use a favorite word of the Transcendentalists, "intuitively." And what he thinks must be true. The word of a self-constituted god is final and sufficient. What he thinks to-day may be inconsistent with and contradictory to what he thinks to-morrow. It matters not. One thing is true to-day, its contradictory was true yesterday, something inconsistent with both will be true to-morrow. Still, it matters not. For he has within him what he

calls the divine "over-soul"—the perennial fountain of truth outstreaming into rivulets of unchallengeable wisdom. Though, indeed, in the following passage from Mr. Emerson, this divine "over-soul" reads as if it were the "under-soul." Mr. Emerson says:

As a traveller, who has lost his way, throws his reins on the horse's neck, and trusts the instinct of the animal to find the road, so must we do with the divine animal (that is supposed to be the "over-soul") we ride through this world.

But why continue. Egotism is unamiable, but an egotism that reaches to the height of assumed divinity is disgusting. Puritanism at least admitted a supreme and personal God, Transcendentalism denies it; Puritanism revered the Bible as a revealed truth, the Transcendentalist rejects all authority except his own self-sufficient, conceited, individualistic soul; the Puritans frankly adopted the maxim "Obey God." Transcendentalism proclaimed as its standard "obey yourself," or, to use Mr. Emerson's words, "trust the instinct of the divine animal," which is one's self.

As a system of vital thought, Transcendentalism, like Puritanism and Deism, is now happily dead. Yet its spirit still haunts New England and hovers over Harvard. For what is Eddyism but Transcendental principles in working clothes, Transcendentalism reduced to practice. The most natural thing in the world for a Boston wight, exalted to the dignity of a puny god, is to perform miracles of healing. A miracle, as we understand it, is to a Transcendentalist neither a supernatural nor preternatural event; it is simply a natural occurrence. Even the miracles of Christ, if we are to give credence to Emerson, are the outcome of natural laws. Emerson

spoke of Christ's miracles as being "one with the blowing clover and the falling rain," performed, indeed, by Christ, not because He is really God in the Catholic sense, but because He was a Transcendentalist of "superior genius." Such are we all. "Man," to quote Mr. Alcott and Mr. Emerson, "is a rudiment and embryo God." Why, then, should not the laws of nature be subject to us all? Why should not disease vanish before our merest wish? And this the more easily since Transcendentalism holds that only spirit exists and vulgar matter is only a myth of the imagination. A broken leg, or a broken heart is only an idea. Disease exists only in idea. Get rid of the idea, then, under the suasive influence of the "Christian Scientist," as you would of any false impression, and you get rid of the disease. Thus does "Christian Science," as a recrudescence of Transcendentalism, mock our common sense, and paralyze our reason.

To what an immense distance from its first position has the oscillating pendulum of Protestantism been swung by the touch of Transcendentalism. The "Protest" of the Reformation revolted against the successor of St. Peter, because he claimed to be the vicegerent of Christ, Transcendentalism calmly asserted every man is a Christ and a god.

Non-Catholic professors of philosophy in our great colleges are keenly sensitive to the awkwardness of a position that rests upon contradictions. Hence, it is that in our day has been born in New England a new philosophical bantling whose difficult mission is to make inconsistency consistent and contradictions mutually reconcilable truths. This thought of the hour is called Pragmatism. Its ablest exponent, we may say its founder, has been the late William James of Harvard University.

It is impossible at present to attempt anything like a complete explanation of this newest fashion in New England thought. We can indicate only a few of its leading characteristics.

We unsophisticated, common-sense folk, imagine that such propositions as "the whole is greater than its part," "two and two make four," "every effect must have a cause," truths fixed and inviolable, true yesterday, to-day, and for eternity.

But the Pragmatist calmly assures us that "two and two," for aught we know, "may make five" in one of the fixed stars. The habit of considering the sum of two and two to be four and not five, say the Pragmatists, is explained partly because we have inherited from a long line of ancestors the disposition to think so, partly because we have by our own experience associated the sum of two and two with four. According to this new-fangled system of thought, there is nothing fixed and absolute in truth; it is not something independent of us; we simply make it ourselves. It is a relative and variable quantity. That alone is true, the Pragmatists assure us, which "works well," or to use a more learned phrase, which "functions well." Hence, what was true in the seventeenth century in New England may not be true in the eighteenth century, and what was true in Harvard in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century may not be true in the twentieth century. Puritanism, for instance, the Pragmatists gravely tell us, was true in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New England because it "worked well." It became false in the nineteenth century because it worked ill. "That God exists," or "that the soul is immortal," will remain true as long as they "work well," should they cease to "work well," they will

become false, and, like a partner in life who may be possessed of an irreclaimable incompatibility of temper, they must be rejected by a process of intellectual divorce and some more congenial theory espoused.

In conclusion allow me to present in one view how the destructive batteries of "protest" or private judgment have shattered into fragments not only the vital truths of revelation, but also the vital truths of natural reason in staid and conservative New England during the past three centuries. English Protestantism first revolted from and rejected the divinely commissioned authority of the Catholic Church to teach all nations, and set up in England a national church, with Henry VIII, and after him Elizabeth, as its self-constituted and humanly appointed sovereign pontiffs. Puritanism then protested, and justly so, against the arrogant claims of Henry and Elizabeth to constitute themselves the teachers of their subjects in questions of faith and morals, and instituted independent congregations which professed to make the Bible, and the Bible alone, their rule of faith. Deism and Unitarianism in turn protested against the repulsive doctrines of Puritanism, plucked from the Bible the bloom of its revealed character and fell back on mere human reason. Transcendentalism, with the same right of private judgment, protested against and shook the foundations of reason by its abandonment of logical consistency. Then came the last protest of Pragmatism, which completed the work of destruction by quenching the light of reason itself as a path-finder of truth. How? Any one who is conversant with the elements of logic knows that reason arrives at its conclusions through the medium of universal ideas or concepts. But the Pragmatists reject the notion that we are capable of forming universal ideas



at all, and even if we were, they deny to these universal ideas the power of representing realities outside and independent of the mind. If this be so, the conclusions of human reason are empty of all reality. The Pragmatist is helpless to prove the real existence of those great vital truths, such as the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, which are the guides and comfort of our lives. Pragmatism is the paralysis of reason. Truly the truth enunciated by Plato is verified in New England to-day, namely, that if man is ever to know vital truths, a God must come from heaven to teach him.

## CALVINISM AND OUR LITERATURE.

By JAMES J. DALY, S.J.

*(Reprinted from America for July 24, 1909.)*

Many readers of "A Week in the Concord and Merrimac" must have felt a most disagreeable shock, whilst perusing that delightful book, at the author's apparently deliberate preference for the pagan conception of Jove over the Christian idea of God. The passage apart from the context is too blasphemous for quotation. Thoreau was in many important respects a good, kindly and thoughtful man. These qualities make his text charming. That such a man should deliberately write himself down as ready "to betake myself in extremities to the liberal divinities of Greece rather than to my country's God" creates for a moment in the reader's mind a sense of painful strangeness amounting to mystery.

But the mystery dissolves when Thoreau confesses later on that he never entirely outgrew the prejudice against the New Testament which was the result of the sabbath school experiences of his youth. This confession offers to us a satisfactory explanation of his indignant impatience with Christianity. Readers of Hawthorne and students of New England history are familiar with the distorted and repulsive form of Christianity which flourished in the northern colonies far into the nineteenth century. Of all the modes of Protestantism the concentrated Calvinism of the Puritans succeeded best in vulgarizing and robbing of its sweet reasonableness the gentle and majestic Christianity of the centuries. We

can not recall the ugly meeting-houses, the stern and terrifying doctrines propounded inside their walls, and the harsh and literal observances enjoined beyond them, without a shudder and a feeling of infinite pity for the gentler spirits so unfortunate as to have been born and brought up in the baleful glow of the "infernal sabbath fires" of colonial America.

What extenuation can be offered for the cruel fanaticism and narrow obstinacy of the New England fathers? When intellectual and emotional growth made Puritanism impossible, the infidelity of Thoreau was the only visible refuge for harassed souls. The creed of the Puritans was to many the best the Christian Church could furnish. Tradition and training, if unsuccessful in wringing their mature assent to the doctrines of their forefathers, were yet strong enough to convince them that no form of Christianity could accomplish anything where Puritanism had failed. Other creeds lay beyond high walls of carefully built prejudice and political antipathies which few cared to scale. It was Puritanism or nothing. And, consequently, with the dawn of New England's intellectualism and literature, America reaped a large crop of unbelievers. Thoreau was not more unchristian than Emerson. And Emerson counted his followers by the thousands. Transcendentalism cast off countless barques from their ancient Puritan moorings and sent them adrift "in seas of Death and sunless gulfs of Doubt."

Now the pity of it is that these American infidels were for the most part men of remarkable moral worth. Generations of hard and rigorous training according to the unbeautiful ideals of Cotton Mather, if they did nothing else, seemed at least to have planted habits of restraint

and sober living which no single lifetime of unbelief could. Naturally, their example was disastrous to the Christian men and women of their time. They are still, after nearly a century of rapidly spreading culture and education, the giants of our American literature, the literary models in schools and colleges where Christianity receives no recognition, by their natural qualities of honor luring to unbelief a generation that chafes at all authority and restraint.

Calvinism has vitally injured our literature. A godless and unchristian literature is a loveless thing. The inferiority of American literature to the literature of England is traceable, in no small measure, to the hard and even vulgar disregard for ancient and tried and holy traditions which Calvinistic monstrosities put beyond the credibility of many among our most gifted writers. The only really vulgar and essentially unpoetic thing in the universe is unreligious radicalism.

But our complaint ought not to be so much with the effects of Calvinism, in the abstract, upon our literature, as with the excruciating torments it has inflicted upon the rare and beautiful souls that have disclosed themselves to us in the literatures of England and America. Hawthorne, Cowper, Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, John Ruskin, are only a few of the names that suggest themselves to us when we think of the fine minds and hearts Calvinistic nightmares of youth have darkened and appalled and, not infrequently, driven into a troubled agnosticism. The infidels of England's literature were not the moral degenerates of the corresponding class upon the Continent. Many of them suffered more than man can tell before logic and feeling forced them at last from the fantastic Christianity of the Reformers. "In

the fell clutch of circumstance," they passed through life, maimed in their highest and their best, but unflinching in the pursuit of subjectively honest purpose.

These observations are called forth by the revival of interest in the Genevan reformer artificially stimulated in this centenary year by various publications. Calvin is hailed as the apostle of political freedom and of modern thought. We have no desire to discuss this statement. It seems to many profound scholars that Calvin was cast up by the political ferment of his time, and was by no means its creator. And, even if he were a prophet of freedom, it still is a mystery to us why political liberties had necessarily to be purchased by the overthrow of an age-old and authentic Christianity and the building up in its place of an elaborate structure of religious error and narrow fanaticism. It is true, many churchmen were unscrupulous and tyrannic. But the Church still survives for the examination of critics, and close and impartial scrutiny can discover no essential wickedness in her. Calvin "poured out the baby with its bath." He was an iconoclastic reformer, an anarch who, "mixing his private spite with his defence of Heaven," would destroy all existing social and religious order to remedy its defects.

As to modern thought, he may be admitted to be its founder in much the same way as the sight of a drunken man is the cause of temperance in a disgusted onlooker. By helping to win for the impossible religion of the reformers general acceptance as the purest and most perfect type of all Christian creeds, he has alienated modern enlightenment from all Christianity. His religious doctrines, as laid down in his "Institutes," are fast becoming obsolete. He changed Christianity into a naked Judaism, unmitigated by the great Hope which, like a

shining thread of silver, relieves the gloomy grandeur of the Old Testament. He turned the Good Shepherd, the Father of the Prodigal, the Good Samaritan, the gracious Redeemer, into a tyrant of iron and brass. He made all spiritual experience a tragedy and a snare. He extracted the beauty out of life and added to the terrors of death. And for poetic and literary purposes he destroyed Christianity utterly. Newman claims that our literature is Protestant. This is too broad an utterance. The immortal elements in our literature somehow have no affinity with the religion of the Reformation.

Whatever Calvinism has accomplished for the world at large it is not easy to find grounds for any gratitude toward it in the history of our literature. In the Caroline England it drove literature to the catacombs for twenty years, branded poetry with the stigma of disgrace, and drove her into the company of profligates. It came to America, and as a consequence our early colonial history of letters is a barren waste. And, when the vision of beauty dawned at last upon our shores it made it necessary for those who entertained the vision to seek a sanctuary in paganism, or to find a weak compromise in a sort of paganized Christianity called Unitarianism.

Geneva is said to be at the present hour the headquarters of Free Thought, Socialist propaganda, and Nihilist conspiracies. *Absit omen!*

## PRAGMATISM.

*(Reprinted from America for July 31, 1909.)*

Pragmatism is one of the questions of the day. It made its appearance in different countries almost at the same time and excited general interest. It was heralded as the panacea for all errors. It came into the world because the world had need of it. Modern philosophy had run riot under the blind leadership of free-thought, and had given rise to all sorts of philosophical systems, one destructive of the other. By a strange coincidence the new theory was formulated in different parts of the world at the same time, and stranger still the authors independently of one another called it by the same name. In the United States the authors were Charles Pierce, John Dewey and William James; in England, Schiller and several others; in France, Blondel, Bergson and Le Roy; in Italy, Pappini; while it found many admirers in Germany. But the classical work on Pragmatism is Mr. James' "Pragmatism a New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking." The writer of the article gives the history of Pragmatism, the causes which led up to it, the motives actuating those who invented it, and enters into a minute analysis of the system. Pragmatism is, above all, a method, and secondarily a theory of truth.

As a method it is the art of arts which is to settle all disputes arising from beliefs and philosophic systems. That belief is true, says the Pragmatist, which gives good or practical results. A good tree is known by its fruits. Let the problem be proposed whether materialism, for instance, or theism be true. If you consider both with

regard to the world's past existence, both equally account for it and hence in that respect have equal value, and consequently God and Matter mean one and the same thing. Not so, however, if they are considered with regard to the future existence of the world; for in admitting materialism you are obliged to abandon the thought that the world and this humanity of ours will continue ever to exist and to advance toward perfection, and you must necessarily assign to it as its goal, physical destruction. It is otherwise if you accept a God, all-provident, who made the world and rules it. By this you are assured of its eternal duration, its progress amid all changes, and its gradual evolution until perfection is attained. Hold then Theism as true, since it alone gives good practical results.

As a theory of truth, Pragmatism places truth not in the correspondence of belief or thought with object which would be common sense, but in the value of the belief or thought in pointing out new deeds to be performed or new lines of action. A watch is true if it indicates the time exactly; the thought or belief is true which indicates the right thing to do or which leads to a good result. The Pragmatist substitutes effects for causes. The element of truth which Pragmatism contains is found already in scholastic philosophy which even Mr. James admits is the system of common sense. Pragmatism is self-contradictory and far from escaping the errors it aims to refute it reestablishes them, one and all. Start with absurdity and any thing will follow. When Pragmatism questions what truth is, it is scepticism, and when it comes to a conclusion scepticism is the result.



## The Needy Family and Institutions

BY THE REV. RICHARD H. TIERNEY, S.J.

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The family is one of God's gifts to men. It has its origin in His law ordaining all things unto the best. It began in Eden by a direct act of God, giving Eve to Adam, that each might be to the other a support and consolation in life. God did more than this: not only did He institute the family, but in fashioning hearts He put into them a law that naturally attracts men and women to wedlock, and bids them be true to each other to the end.

Apart from supernatural considerations which we shall see later, this is our idea of marriage. True, much to the detriment of public morals, this concept is not in universal favor. The wretched hypothesis of certain anthropologists, advanced by Buchofen in his "Das Mutterrecht," is more partial to the flesh, and hence more congenial to a set of men who were better unborn. The same is true of polyandry and polygamy, successive or simultaneous. In a greater or less degree all these are repugnant to the natural law, and they are besides forbidden by the divine law. Nor, despite isolated exceptions arising from abuse, does history support any of them. Westermack, perhaps the greatest authority on this subject, insists that monogamy was by all odds the most common form of marriage "amongst the ancient people of whom we have any direct knowledge." When Christ came and promulgated His saving doctrine He insisted on the original and only true form of matrimony, and added to it besides a sacramental element.

He made matrimony, therefore, a lifelong union between one man and one woman joined together by an inviolable pact that is at once a natural contract and a Sacrament instituted by Him, and sanctified in His Precious Blood. This union, which St. Paul likened to the union between Christ and His Mystic Spouse the Church, has as its chiefest justification a home into which children are to be born for the good of the State and the glory of God. Thus, the Christian family is instituted and perfected. Now the family has a double set of relations, one internal, the other external. The former do not concern us; the latter, the relations to the State, do concern us.

The family is the social unit, the basis of civil society, in the sense that the State is formally concerned with it. This relation obliges the State to perform certain services and to abstain from certain other acts. Thus, for instance, civil society can interfere with the control and education of children only so far as may be necessary to prevent neglect of parental duty in these matters. The control and education of offsprings pertain to parents by a natural right emphasized, at least indirectly, by a positive, divine command.

It is a woful thing to tamper with a family; it is a crime to break it up, except in abnormal cases. Mark it well. Nothing can take the place of the sanctuary of the home: not even a most perfect institution. The family is the child's natural place; within its circle all the ideas and emotions that are ultimately based on the natural law find easy expression, thereby exercising an influence that were otherwise lost. The child outside the family circle is in an unnatural place; a place where many promptings of the heart are not called into action. Be an institute ever so perfect, yet the mother of the child

is not there, nor its father, nor its brothers and sisters. The chastening, uplifting influence of such factors is lost on the orphaned soul which goes forth to the world abnormal in some ways, for that it had not been touched into the full and complete life ordained for it by God. It knew not a mother's smiles and tears, a father's tender solicitude, a sister's caresses. There is a lack in the heart. The family, then, should be preserved even at great hazards. But often, alas! the home must be broken up. Excess in liquor, or unchastity, twin agents of the demon, or some other cause, leaves children without shelter and care. No other family will take the waifs. They must be sent to an institution. The institution selected is private. What should it be like? What care should its inmates get? The answer comes as a deduction from what I have already said. The institution should be as homelike as possible; those in charge of it should do as much as possible to prepare the child for the battle of life. Herein should be found discipline founded on the religion of the child, and love and some adequate process of equipping the children to earn an honorable livelihood. In other words, the institution should be as "uninstituted" as brain and goodwill can make it.

Children are ruled by love not by the rod; children are subdued by firm, kind words, not by angry commands; children are taught respect for authority by learning first to love the person clothed with authority; children are trained not in herds, but as individuals, each with its own immortal soul needing a personal, unceasing care to meet exigencies that arise.

Do not think that sounding gongs and ranks and the measured rise and fall of many feet and tense baby faces and stern frowns of masters and mistresses are the sum

and substance of discipline. They may connote supreme disorder: to wit, interior rebellion against authority. Better far to have a scampering boy or two, and a giggling girl or more, who realize that they are disorderly than one thousand, yes, ten thousand little souls dragooned into external decorum without any interior response. In the end the latter method if indeed it does not kill all initiative causes a rebound of soul, and great is the ruin. All good discipline is self-discipline. It is not imposed from without; it is a growth from within. It is not suppression; it is expansion under guidance. It is not a process of suffocating faults; it is an implanting of virtue. Such is discipline. It begins in the intellect and proceeds to the will. The child must first realize the difference between right and wrong; must then determine to adopt righteousness, and finally must live up to the determination. Ladies and gentlemen, you and I can bring this about only when we have won the love of the child and hold its little soul in the hollow of our hands, to train it in God's ways. That is home discipline, and such is the ideal for the institution. The child, I repeat, is to be trained in God's ways. Without Him there is neither lasting joy in life nor hope in death. Here sociology is not sufficient. It may do something, but that which it does is ultimately useless unless supported by a divine sanction. Let us not be either afraid or ashamed to confess it, the human soul needs God, both for peace and safety. There are depths therein that can be sounded by the plummet of God's love alone; crevices that can be illuminated by the light from His face only; rough places that He alone can make smooth. The last, strongest, sweetest appeal to man is God's; religion must permeate the atmosphere in which the

child lives, the religion demanded by the child's parents or legitimate guardians. For it is an infamous crime, a monstrous violation of the natural and divine law to rob a needy child of its faith. Moreover, he who does so has made his victim false to God, the norm of morality; infidelity to the norm eventuates in disregard of morality itself, a sorry result of misguided zeal.

From all this it is quite apparent that love must always be supreme in the institutions under discussion. All employed therein must love their work, otherwise they are hirelings, task masters who are better employed elsewhere. Many people adopt a peculiar attitude toward unfortunate children. They seem to consider them criminals undergoing a term of punishment. They are harsh with them and overbearing and dictatorial, and formally authoritative in everything; in short, they are unlovely and unlovable, never fatherly or motherly. They create an atmosphere which even frogs—to say nothing of children—would find chilly and uncongenial. The result is a frightened, deceitful child, which looks at you out of the corner of its eye, and grows up an Ismael, hand raised against his fellows, suspecting all of brutality. Unaffected love, then, must enter into the training of the children. Our exemplar is Christ, Who preached and practised corporal and spiritual works of mercy, and promised reward even to so mean a gift as a cup of cold water given in His name.

This love will prompt officials of private institutions to look to every need of their charges. There will be plenty of wholesome food. There will be sufficient provision for play—an item sometimes neglected. Yet play is both a physical and psychological necessity. A primal instinct fairly drives the normal child to play in order

that its limbs and muscles and sinews may be made fit for future stress. So much for the physical aspect of this question. The psychological aspect is just as simple. For reasons known to you, unnatural violence against an instinct of nature is harmful. Play is an instinct of nature. The conclusion is too obvious and clear in substance to call for deduction or labor.

Over and above all this, sense of duty, if not of spontaneous love, will prevent the masters of these institutions from sending any child away unprepared to work its way to an honorable place in society. The children should be given an elementary education. It is shameful to allow a boy or girl to grow up in ignorance, unable to read, write, compute and talk grammatically. Moreover, the children should be equipped to earn a living wage, in the shortest possible time after leaving the institution. Mops and wash-tubs and ironing-boards are poor enough instruments for that. The boys should be taught a trade, or farming or some other useful means of livelihood. The girls should be drilled in dressmaking, or millinery, or typing, or accounting and so on. And every girl should be exercised in systematic housekeeping, learning the art of a competent housewife. Remember that under normal conditions these boys and girls of to-day are destined to become the fathers and mothers of to-morrow, not mere floaters on the stream of life, much less outcasts from society.

Let us not deceive ourselves in this. Any institution that fails to turn its inmates into useful citizens falls short of its primary purpose. It is a sham, a lie in stone; it were better out of existence; it is ruining souls that otherwise would be fashioned into good men and women. A study of the lives of those brought up in

institutions which neglect the elements insisted upon, oftentimes reveals a mass of wreckage tossing on the sea of life.

No institution completes its work for children which does not employ a "follow-up" system. It is of little avail to watch over a girl for eight or ten years and then place her among strangers, innocent and ignorant of the ways of modern folk. Unless she be a tower of strength, the psalm of her life is apt to end abruptly on a broken chord, like the "wail of the dead in the night." And if accidental conditions make the life of a boy similarly situated less disastrous in the eyes of men, they do not make that life less sad before the face of God, Who loathes with infinite loathing that base hypocritical thing called in polite society the "double standard," a relic of savagery when man's lust was his god, and woman his victim, not his heaven-sent helpmate, a mother, mine and yours! There should be an effective "follow up" system in charge of up-standing, godly men and women who know their duty and dare do it. Happily no words are needed to explain or illustrate this system. You know it better than I.

Ladies and Gentlemen, your work is sublime; I envy you it. It is a privilege to be allowed to care for the little ones whose Angels see the face of the Father Who is in heaven. May you accomplish your task in the spirit of the Master, Who bade His followers suffer the little ones to come unto Him, and threatened dire punishment to all who should scandalize them. He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, the great Hope of individual and State. Children trained in His spirit will be self-respecting, honorable citizens, a consolation to you who have given your lives to their upbringing.

## SAFEGUARDING "JIM"

BY THE REV. PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

This is a story about "Jim," mostly, and his \$11.50, and car fare. Fifteen years ago, in a large American municipality in the Southwest, the liquor trade, especially in the factory districts and the vicinity of the wholesale houses, was singularly free both from legal restraint, and restraint imposed by public opinion. "Saloons" discharged their obligations, apparently, by paying their Government, State and municipal taxes. Their number was not limited by population. Many of them were gay with tawdry lights and mirrors, with music, warmth and animal comfort. They were the haunt and the breeding place of the vampires of society; the gambler, the thief, the gun-man, the pander, the woman, at once the toy and scorn of iniquity greater than her own. They were places which no decent man would enter, of course. That, seemingly, was the theory upon which the comfortable, well-fed citizen, loving his family and his business, and hating rows and politics, allowed them to exist. But they flourished, and not upon proceeds that came from the pockets of those who chose these places as a base of operation. Who supplied the funds? That is a question easily answered. Let us introduce Jim.

Jim comes out of one of these near-by factories on Saturday night with \$11.50 in his pay-envelope, and his car fare. He has worked eight hours that day, and every other day that week, over a shrieking, whirring machine that cuts out uppers for shoes. When you work



a machine like this, you can't take your eyes off the "piece" for a single second. If you do, you may spoil the "piece," and that means a fine, and you may lose a finger, or two, or three, into the bargain, and then you're done for. After eight hours of this sort of work, your eyes burn like fire, and there is a pain like the thrust of red-hot iron across the small of your back when you try to straighten up. For all this, Jim has received the munificent wage of \$11.50, *i e.*, \$12.00 minus a fine of fifty cents when a drive-belt broke. It was rotten—but that is a story about something else. Jim is tired and hungry, and for some years, he has been considerably underfed. He wants to get home, and that quickly, to the wife and children. The evening air is raw, full of a penetrating autumn drizzle that gets under the warmest coat, and Jim's shoddy garment is none of the thickest. As he stumbles along—the pavements are bad along Whiskey Row—through an opened door, on a warm, almost sickening draft of alcohol-laden air, comes a burst of "ragtime," and Jim hears the cards thumped down on the table, and the loud laugh of "good fellows." At home, there is the patient wife, good as gold, it is true, but little Katie is sick and cried all last night, and there will be a story of how the flour is out, and the groceryman threatens to cut off all supplies unless something is paid on a long-outstanding account, and it's almost impossible to get Tommy to go to school, because the other boys laugh at his ragged clothes. It's hard for a man to work all day, and then face this. She might manage better, Jim sighs, the glare of many gas-lamps in his eyes. Jim is wavering. His tastes are not æsthetic, as yours are, and mine. He only wants a little bit to warm him, and just a glint of light and laughter

in his life, now and then. He can't get it at home. Just a little while; he won't stay long. . . .

The swinging doors have closed on Jim. The wife will go to bed late that night, but Jim won't eat the frugal supper she has left for him between two cracked plates in the oven. Little Katie's crying and coughing will numb her heart with dread, and the knowledge that "Jim is drinking again," strikes deeper terror than the fact that there will be little to eat next week. She who came of decent folks may be forced to rely upon the charity of those who give out of their poverty, her humble neighbors; or worse, reach the acme of distress in being obliged to apply for public relief. Jim will wake up next morning, in the gutter, perhaps, or the station-house, with an aching head and a black eye, and an aching heart, we hope, but no \$11.50, and no car fare.

Now, don't tell me that Jim is a free agent, that he can look temptation in the face and say, "I won't," and that like Horace's just man, he can stand with unterrified head, with the ruins of all the world crashing about him. True as Matthew. Jim and I both know it, although to Jim, Horace is merely the name of the man he works for. Besides, when you and I talk like that, it reminds me of the cynical spirit of Becky Sharp, who thought that anybody could be good on five thousand a year. You and I don't work eight hours a day over a nerve-racking, body-destroying, whirring mass of bolts and belts and knives. We've got enough to eat, too, and in our homes, perhaps, there is the laughter of merry children, instead of the crying of poor little under-fed things who live in a tenement. We don't have to worry about the grocery bill and Tommy's coat. Jim does. There's the difference. When we're worn out, or think

we are, we can take a rest. Jim can't. To him a vacation is a calamity. We spend more money in a month, some of us, on our amusements, than Jim's family spends for adulterated food in a whole year. The cost of that hat, Madame, might have sent little Katie with her mother to the country for a month, bringing back a grateful mother, and a bright-faced, happy little child. But don't hasten to countermand your order; it's too late, it's too late. I think that He, Who loved the little children of the poor, is going to look into this case Himself, and send Katie to a bright, far-off country, where there won't be any crying or any hunger, or any fevered little children slowly dying in tenements owned by multimillionaires, and from which he won't have to come back in a month. Jim has worries that you and I know nothing about. He is not a bad fellow at heart. He is only weak, and hungry, and half sick, and despondent. For reasons into which we need not enter, his ideals are not very high. When temptation comes, through an occasion of sin, thrust upon him at the very time when circumstances have broken down half his resistance, it is fairly certain that he will fall. And with him, his family and, I may say, you and I fall.

Judging from statistics gathered by industrious sociologists, Jim has several million brothers in this bright and glorious land of ours. Let us not count the dollars which sober, industrious Jims might have deposited in savings banks. Rather, let us reflect for a brief moment upon broken-hearted wives, and starving children, and jails, and alms-houses, and scaffolds, and insane asylums, and alas! immortal souls often lost to God. Even this does not seem to get you much but a lump in your throat.

But some questions we may ask with profit: Who put

that occasion of sin in Jim's way? Who netted that chain of gilded saloons, close to a district through which these men had to pass? Who allowed them to strike the hand of fellowship with crime, to introduce and foster alluring vice? Good citizens like you and me, who answered with Cain, that we had no charge over our brother.

Lest we be classed with violent and visionary prohibitionists, putting excess in drink as the sole cause of human misery, let us hasten to add, that we have merely cited one evil to serve as the symbol of many interrelated corrupting forces. There may be worse sources of evil in a community than such saloons; the corporation, for example, which, clearing twenty-one millions in net profits last year, pays its shop-girls an average weekly starving wage of \$5.83. But in how many upright citizens is the thought of their community's duty to its children, and its weaker members, aroused only by the outbreak of some social horror? Some progress may be chronicled, but our communities have made only a beginning, and in the matter of preventive legislation hardly that. The vital questions of adequate public relief, the living wage, compensation for injured workingmen, civilized labor laws for children and women, upon whom the future of the race depends, demand immediate consideration. But how many, who might help to a solution, are in the least interested, or will admit that these are matters which concern the community's conscience?

True, men can not be dragooned into virtue by Act of Parliament. Unless their free wills cooperate, even the law of God is powerless. But let us not forget, that statute law can do much to check evil and promote virtue, and that Christian community sins against God, if it does

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not employ the force of the law to suppress the gross exterior manifestations of iniquity, thereby removing, to some extent at least, the occasion of fall from its weaker members, and fostering, indirectly, the practice of virtue. More, probably, it can not do. To this minimum it is obliged by God, in whose name it exercises its delegated authority.

## THE WORKINGMAN'S HOME

BY THE REV. HENRY WOODS, S.J.

The housing of the workingman is perhaps the most serious problem of social economics to-day. What the workers need is contentment, to which nothing conduces more than a comfortable home suitable to one's condition. In the country and in the smaller towns, this is comparatively easy to provide, but in the large cities the working classes find nothing harder to obtain. The problem has many phases of which one is the purely sanitary. So inspectors visit the tenements to report on the plumbing, the air and water supply, etc. This is good work; and if the inspectors have enough judgment to divide responsibility in the matter between landlord and tenant, so that the delinquencies of each may be corrected, it is as nearly perfect as the state of the case permits.

But sanitary correction, though it lessens a danger for the whole community, is not going to provide the workingman with a proper home. The landlord, whether a private person, a corporation, a cooperative society, or the community at large, holds his tenements as an investment. If he has to spend money on them to comply with the demands of sanitary laws, the tenant has to pay a higher rent. The chief advantage coming to the tenant from the substitution of cooperative or municipal ownership for individual or corporate is that the investment will not have to pay more than a moderate interest, say five per cent. But so long as the workingman lives on city lands of large value, he will have to pay a high rent.

This is enough to show that the reducing of the number of inhabitants per acre of such lands is not the way to provide the workingman with a proper home. Some are shocked at hearing how in some slums the population is between 400 and 500 per acre. That so many live in slums is shocking. That such a number live on an acre of high-priced land is not so, provided they live in proper houses. As a matter of fact 435 persons to the acre would give each 100 square feet were they on the surface only. Supposing they lived in two-story houses, and allowing half the area for yards and streets, each man, woman and child would have 100 square feet of floor room. If they lived in well-built ten-story buildings with elevators and roof gardens, there is no reason why there would not be a thousand persons to the acre, or even more.

Still the rents would be high, not higher necessarily than those of a decently purified slum, but high out of all proportion to the wages earned. Here is the real difficulty of the question. Naturally, the house should be the least of one's expenditures. It is built once for all, and the labor of keeping it in repair would be but a small part of the year's work. Clothing, which has to be renewed often, should cost more; while food, to be provided day by day, demands the greatest part of one's energies. As things are now, a sum, excessive if wages be considered, has to be set apart month by month to pay for shelter, and consequently the family is often stinted in food and clothing, to say nothing of the impossibility of that provision for the future which prudence demands. To reduce that sum as much as he can the workingman lives in unsuitable surroundings to the destruction of all content.

The house, therefore, is not so much the problem, as the land. To settle it the workingman should be relieved of the burden of paying interest on land values, the more so as these are determined by many other causes than the demand for sites for workingmen's homes. How can this relief be obtained? A great deal of money is spent on parks; a great deal is, it seems, about to be spent in many places on "the city beautiful." Parks, in moderation, are good; but why should many acres be given over, for instance, to ducks and swans and to the breeding of mosquitos, or to golf links and the like while the workingman is paying a round rent far beyond his means? If the money to be spent on a very doubtful "beautifying" were used to acquire more land, if loans were raised, not for the multiplication of things less useful, but for the acquiring of suburban tracts, a real step would be made toward a solution of the problem. Such lands could be turned over to the unions on long leases perpetually renewable at a nominal rent. These would have to build and keep in repair approved dwellings, to be rented to their members at a price merely paying expenses and municipal taxes, to be determined by competent auditors. Shops for supplying household needs and such like could be rented at a just profit and the income thus obtained would make up for the lack of returns from sites granted for churches and schools. Thus, the workingman would have a suitable home at a reasonable rent. The unions, too, busied in the administration of these settlements, would broaden out and no longer occupy themselves exclusively in the perennial quarrel between capital and labor. Indeed, a great part of the occasions of this quarrel would be taken away. At present, when the workingman feels the pinch of poverty,



he sees no other relief than the compelling the employer to raise his wages. Relieved of the excessive rent he now pays, that pinch would not be felt so often. We should see a revival to some extent of the old municipalities which were the safeguard of their members.

Difficult as this might be in the case of older cities, it is not impossible. In the new cities growing up in new lands, it would mean nothing more than the foresight that would reserve for workingmen's homes a few tracts of prairie or forest land. Authorities should exercise this foresight before it is too late. It would pay them well. No means could be devised better suited to attract to them the workingman and his employer.

## CATHOLIC SOCIAL WORKERS

BY THE REV. PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

It must be admitted that the time, when the sole qualification required of the social worker was that he or she be a practical Catholic, has long since passed away, if indeed, it ever existed. The conditions which confront the social worker, in the Juvenile Court, for example, while often simple enough in appearance, are such only in seeming. To say that modern life, especially modern city life which is constantly changing, has departed far from the conditions of even twenty years ago, is but to restate a truism. Women and children have been forced by poverty or other causes, into the toil of the shop and the factory; a mode of life which weakens home ties and frequently occasions a lowering of moral principle in those whom it engages. A foreign population unused to, and often really unfitted for, the new phase of existence encountered in the typical American municipality, usually finds itself segregated in the most unsavory and most unsanitary quarters of the city. As a result we have the street child, a child of bitter poverty and often a waif, over-precocious, stunted physically, trained in nothing but the unlovely ways of life. This is the type of child which furnishes the Juvenile Court with most of its cases, and presents the most puzzling problem to the social worker to whom the child may be committed. To find out whether or not the child has been guilty of this or that misdemeanor may be easy. But that is not the only important question which must be

solved. If the child is to be saved, reformed, it is of vital importance that the cause of the child's delinquency be discovered and removed. The child's antecedents and environment must be studied, so too its parents, its home, its companions, the educational and religious influences, if any, which have been brought into the child's life. To do this thoroughly requires more than a good intention. It requires, in addition, technical training plus the skill that is born of experience. The untrained social worker will either omit this investigation altogether, and content himself with treating symptoms instead of causes, or he will lay so much stress upon the diagnosis that he will forget to prescribe a proper course of treatment. Either process may effectually impede the purpose of the social worker, which is the child's reformation. Non-Catholic colleges, in increasing numbers, are offering systematically planned courses in social work. It need not be said that, in many of them, principles which are destructive of the Christian ideal of charity are openly taught. There is, therefore, a pressing need of Catholic schools of sociology, in which the principles of religion and sane philosophy will be adequately considered, in their application to the many and varied phases of poverty, dependency and delinquency, characteristic of modern social life. Already the baneful effects of the non-Catholic schools are beginning to make themselves felt. The teaching of these schools tends to take away all responsibility for sin and crime, by making these moral disorders the natural and inevitable result of environment, physical ill-health, or other causes over which the individual has no control.

Poor themselves, for the most part, American Catholics have done noble work in the wide field of social

activity. Yet much remains to be done. A more perfect alignment of our forces against that modern sociology which is the offspring of the philosophy of materialism, must be devised, if we are to save our dependents and our unfortunate children from becoming the victims of a charity which loses none of its deleterious effects by the fact that it may be well-meant. But the spirit of zeal and sacrifice which has always animated our Catholic people is not diminished, and gives assurance that the victories of the future will surpass the achievements of the past.

Confessedly, the problems which Catholics must face are vast and difficult of solution. Time was when the problem of relieving poverty and distress seemed easily answered. That was in the days when supernatural faith was accepted as the dominant principle in the public life of the community, as well as in the life of the individual. Men were taught to practise the corporal works of mercy, because our Divine Saviour had said that He would accept as done to Himself what was done in His name, to the least of His brethren. Charity was held to be a virtue, the greatest of all virtues, since it meant love of God above all things; and charity toward one's neighbor was the necessary consequence and the test of genuine love of God. Men set themselves to relieve their needy brethren, not because they thought that the presence of the afflicted in a community constituted a menace to the common welfare, but because practical charity was a virtue, and because the poor were in a special manner the best-loved brethren of the poor Carpenter of Nazareth. In the words of Christ, as recorded in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, they read the great charter of Christian charity.

Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me to eat: I was thirsty and you gave me to drink: I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me: sick and you visited me: I was in prison and you came to me. Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and feed thee, thirsty, and give thee drink? And when did we see thee a stranger and took thee in? or naked and covered thee? Or when did we see thee sick or in prison and came to thee? And the king answering shall say to them: Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these, my least brethren, you did it to me.

This great charter, the work of divine wisdom, must ever remain the unerring statement of the principles which underlie Catholic social service. But it would be fatal to believe that we have as yet reached the most perfect methods of applying these principles to modern conditions. Earnest prayer, much study, experience, the mutual interchange of opinions formulated by Catholic social workers, who have been trained in Catholic schools of sociology, the guidance of the Church, must help us to fulfill more perfectly day by day the sweet commandment which our Saviour gave us, of loving our brethren as ourselves for the sake of Him who hath first loved us.

## THE POPE AND THE WAR

## BENEDICT XV TO THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

RAISED to the Chair of Blessed Peter, though knowing well Our unworthiness for so high an office, We bowed with all reverence before the hidden will of Divine Providence which has raised Our humble person to so high a dignity. If indeed, while no merits of Ours fit Us for so high a favor, We seem to have undertaken with confidence the administration of the Supreme Pontificate, We accept the charge solely through trust in Divine goodness, not for a moment doubting that He who laid on Us this heaviest burden will grant Us the needed help and strength. But when We look from the height of this Apostolic See toward the Lord's flock committed to Our care, We are filled with horror and inexpressible grief by the sight of this war through which so great a part of Europe is reddened with Christian blood, devastated by fire and sword. From the Good Shepherd Jesus Christ, whose place We hold in the government of the Church, we have this very duty, that We embrace with the bowels of paternal love all the lambs and sheep of His flock. Inasmuch, then, as, from the example of the Lord Himself, We muse be—as indeed We are—ready to give even Our life itself for their salvation, We are firmly and deliberately determined to leave nothing that is in Our power undone to hasten the end of so great a calamity. Now therefore—even before We address Encyclical Letters to all the Bishops, as is the established custom of the Roman Pontiffs, at the

beginning of their Apostolate—We cannot refrain from repeating the last words of Our most saintly Predecessor, Pius X, worthy of immortal memory, spoken on his death-bed, at the first thunder of war, from his Apostolic solicitude and love of the human race. Wherefore, while We Ourselves will be suppliant before God with eyes and hands raised to Heaven, We exhort and pray all children of the Church, particularly those in Holy Order, as Our Predecessor exhorted and urged them, that they insistently, in all ways possible, whether privately in humble prayer or publicly with solemn supplications, implore God, the Arbiter and Sovereign Master of all things, that mindful of His pity He may put away this scourge of His wrath with which He exacts of the people penance for their sins. And may you be assisted and protected in your common prayers by the Virgin Mother of God, whose most blessed Nativity, celebrated this very day, has shone out like a dawn-light of peace on an afflicted world—the Virgin who was to give birth to Him in whom the Eternal Father willed to reconcile all things, “making peace through the blood of His cross both as to the things on earth and the things that are in heaven” (*Coloss. i, xx*).

But those who rule the affairs of peoples We urgently implore and conjure that they now turn their minds to forget all their own discords for the sake of the salvation of human society; that they consider that already there is enough misery and trouble in the life of men that it should not be rendered for a long time more miserable and troubled; that they be satisfied with the ruin wrought, the human blood already shed; that they initiate councils of peace and reconcile themselves; for thus will they truly deserve well of God and of their

own peoples, and will be benefactors of the civil society of the nations. And for Us, who at this, the very beginning of Our Apostolic Office, see grave troubles in the terrible disorganization of all things—let them know that they will be doing a thing most pleasing to Us and one which from all Our heart We desire.

Given from the Vatican on the eighth day of September, the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year 1914.

BENEDICT XV, POPE.



# The Architect's Plan

BY THE REV. JOHN A. COTTER, S.J.

## FOREWORD

This pamphlet is intended for those who wish "to look into" the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Its aim is to set forth in a simple, direct and natural manner a Scriptural proof for the Catholic Church's first and fundamental doctrine which, because it seems arrogant, comes usually as a shock to the honest investigator. We mean the doctrine in which the Catholic Church proclaims herself to be the one and only Church of God. That only one denomination can be the Church of God is an idea undreamed of by most Protestants; and its astonishing assertion is justly challenged for clear and incontestible proof. Such a proof it is the aim of this pamphlet to give; and the form into which we throw it has been shown by frequent trial to be peculiarly illuminating and convincing.

For our method of procedure is this: understanding that Christ intended to build a Church we ask, did He, by manifesting any plan of its structure, furnish us with a means of finding it in the world to-day? This method of inquiry is simple, direct and natural, and has this advantage that, striking at once into the logic of the Church's situation, it calls for none of those historical discussions which, for the most part, are complex and very apt to be fruitless. Whereas in our method of inquiry but one clear and simple line of thought is pursued: did Christ

lay down a plan or organization for His Church; and if so, in what church to-day is that plan fulfilled? Of these two questions Scripture is to answer the first; the organizations found in the churches to-day are to answer the second. And so with a few simple texts conjoined with present-day facts, this pamphlet hopes to demonstrate the truth of that apparently arrogant claim of the Catholic Church that she is the one and only Church of God.

It is assumed of course in these pages that the reader believes Christ to be God and the Scriptures to be authentic.

In conclusion, just a word to the Catholic reader. As this pamphlet is chiefly intended for prospective converts to the Church, the Scripture texts that are cited have been taken from the King James' Bible, which is naturally more familiar to Protestants than is our Reims version of the New Testament.

#### CHRIST'S PROMISE TO BUILD A CHURCH

In St. Matthew's Gospel, chapter xvi, verse 18, we read: "And I say also to thee, that thou art Peter and upon this rock *I will build my church.*" All we want from this text, now, is: "I will build my church." Here we see Christ expressing His intention and promise to build His Church. "He is faithful that promised" (Heb. x, 23); hence, before His life-work was done, He built that Church. *Build* implies structure, orderly arrangement of parts, in a word, plan.

Now, beyond His promise did Christ go farther and

tell us anything about that plan? Can we through the Scriptures arrive at the concept which Christ must have had in His own mind of the organization, the structure, which He would give His Church? Can we deduce from His words an outline of His Church as may not unfitly be termed the Architect's Plan? For, if we can, then will it be easy, by testing all existing churches by the specifications of the plan, to see whether they are all "His," or only some *one* of them His. And are we not well within the logic of the situation, when we say that *those that do not correspond line for line with His plan are evidently to be rejected as not His?*

For, is it not true, that were an architect to send us into New York City to find a unique building, the plan of which he gives us, though we might find many buildings fitting in with *parts of the plan*, yet only when we found the building that fitted *every line* of the plan and saw that no other did, then and only then would we be warranted in ceasing our search and concluding surely that our quest was at last fruitful and at an end?

### THE PLAN OF THE CHURCH

*And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, all power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world.—Matt. xxviii, 18-20.*

Nothing surely could be plainer than that we have here the idea of a church: for, of course, Christ, when He said: "I will build my Church," did not mean a church of stone

and wood, but a body of people to be organized into a society believing in Him and adhering to His doctrine. And have we not in the above words of Christ some ideas that may be called the lines of the Architect's plan? *Go and teach*: official teachers sent by Christ. *All nations*: teachers and believers to be found in all parts of the world. *To observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*: as this was said shortly before His ascent into heaven the *all* was therefore, at that time, something said and done, some *completed* system of doctrine and precept.

Moreover they were not to forget what this *all* was: *But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you—John xiv, 26.* Now if this *all* was through the official teachers to go to all nations, does it not follow that in Christ's plan the teachers found in all parts of the world were to be teaching *exactly the same thing everywhere*? "Lo, I am with you *always* even unto the end of the world." With them in what? Is it not, evidently in the mission on which He is sending them, the mission of teaching? Are not Christ's people, then, assured by Him in this promise that their teachers, sent by Him, can not, *as a body*, go wrong in their teaching? For, can Christ, looking down the future, promise ever to be with error?

Notice that there is not here, nor can there be found elsewhere, any command of Christ to write a book or Bible that is to be the *sole rule* of faith. "I am with *you*," He said; He did not say: "I am with a *book*." Hence, was it not clearly Christ's idea that we were to look not to a book but to living teachers for doctrine?

"Go and *teach*," He said; He did not say: "Go and *write*." True, these first living teachers produced writings which have since been made into a book; but they did not intend their writings to contain all their doctrines, nor to be the sole source of their doctrines.

For does not St. John, in chapter xxi, verse 25, say: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they should be written every one, I suppose even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written"? And does not St. Peter in his Second Epistle, iii, 16, warn the flock of Christ against their own private interpretation of the writings of St. Paul, and the other Scriptures? "As also in all his (St. Paul's) epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction." So it is made clear to us by the first teachers that the flock of Christ is to look elsewhere than to their own private interpretation of Scripture for the right understanding of Christ's doctrine.

*I am with you alway even unto the end of the world.* Are not these strange words for Christ, who is God, to address to those eleven men, His Apostles? If they were spoken to these men as to individuals with whom the Church-office of teacher was to die, then have these words no meaning. But if they be taken as showing that the mind of Christ was meditating, and the will of Christ was instituting in His Church a teaching board, as it were, of which the Apostles were but the first members, then His words—the words of God, remember—have very pregnant meaning. For, if we view, as we must, the mind of God looking down the ages, then do we

hear in these words of His the assurance that He will ever be with the teaching board of His Church. And that the Apostles understood that they were but the beginning of a board which should by due incorporation grow in membership with the increasing needs of the Church, is amply attested by their action in electing St. Matthias to the vacant bishopric of Judas (Acts, i, 26); by their recognition of St. Paul; and by Paul's ordination (II Tim. i, 6) of the youthful Timothy and of Titus (Tit. i, 5). And do we not hear the means of perpetuating this board prescribed in II Tim. ii, 2? "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also;" and in Tit. i, 5: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."

*I am with you:* this board can never go wrong in its teaching: it will be infallible. *All days:* it will ever be in the world: it will be indefectible. So far then, the Architect's plan is: *A permanent, official and unerring board' of teachers, teaching in all nations, the same doctrine.* But this is not all.

In Matt. vii, 24, 25, Christ implies that a wise man, to give stability to his house, builds it upon a rock: *I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock, and the rain descended and the floods came, and the wind blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock.* Surely Christ had the wisdom of that wise man. Did He not then, build His house, His Church, upon a rock? Let us see.

In the first chapter of St. John's Gospel we are told of Christ's first meeting with a man destined to be an

Apostle. This man's name was Simon. In Christ's first greeting to this man He changed the name of Simon to that of Cephas, which in Aramaic, the language Our Lord spoke, means *rock* or *stone*. *And he (Andrew) brought him (Simon) to Jesus, and when Jesus beheld him, he said, thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone.*—*John i, 42.* Surely this change of name is not without its meaning. Two years and a half afterwards in Our Lord's life, He lets us know its meaning, when He said to Cephas, that sentence which we find recorded in Matthew xvi, 18: *And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.* For, *Peter* comes from the Greek word *Petros*, the natural grammatical translation into Greek of the Aramaic *Cephas*. *Petra* in Greek means *rock*; and *Petros* is its natural masculine derivative. And so, Matt. xvi, 18, reads in English: "And I say also unto thee, that thou art *rock* and upon this *rock* I will build my church."

Now, Christ was to be, as we have seen, with His Church *alway*. And if the Church thus was to remain, surely that on which it was built was to remain. For can we conceive of any forgetfulness or inconsistency in the mind of Christ? Would He at one time have spoken of His Church as permanent and at another said that it was to be *built* on a foundation not meant to be permanent? No; rather must we say, that as He evidently intended the board of teachers to be a lasting part of the superstructure, as it were, of His Church, so the substructure, the foundation, the *rock*, was to be a lasting part of His Church. For the metaphors, the implied comparisons, found in the words *build* and *rock* are Christ's; and surely He meant all that they imply; else

was He juggling with language, a levity, if not a deception, that we can not attribute to Christ.

Evidently then, the same line of thought applies here as applied above to the board of teachers. Christ was to have in His Church an office occupied by one man, and the man in that office was to be to His Church what a foundation-rock is to a building. This man was to give, as a consequence, security and permanency to the Church, and to effect its unity. He is assigned to do this by Christ, for does not Christ's very act of appointment carry with it the powers necessary to effect the end implied?

Can we say that Christ would assign to a man an office calling for more than natural powers, yet withhold the required powers which He alone could give? No; if Christ commissioned Peter to be a *rock* to His building, He must have given to Peter the qualities and powers demanded if Peter were to be all that a *rock* implies.

And what does a rock imply? A rock implies unshakable security, permanency, and preservation of unity for the building founded upon it. One man then, as Christ plans His Church, is God-empowered to give unshakable security, permanency and preservation of unity to that Church. Now, besides the structure itself of the Church and the unity among its members, what is the main thing in the Church that Christ would wish kept intact, kept secured and supported by the *rock*? Is it not plainly that which He entrusted to the first teachers and which He wished to go to all nations, that which He spoke of as "all things whatsoever I have commanded you," in a word, His entire system or body of doctrine?

How can one man preserve this intact unless, when human forgetfulness, ignorance, or passion threaten the



Church "with every wind of doctrine," he be gifted by Almighty God with such sure-sightedness for Christ's doctrine as is incapable of going astray; unless as supreme teacher, when called upon to point out Christ's doctrine, he be made by Almighty God incapable of erring; unless, in a word, when teaching the whole Church, he be gifted with infallibility? For only when the Church has some one member in it to whom it can with divinely warranted assurance turn for doctrinal security, can it be said to have an element in it partaking of the nature of a rock. It must be clearly understood that this impossibility of erring in doctrine, this infallibility as supreme teacher of the Church, in no way includes personal impeccability. Also the limits of this infallibility are to be definitely noted. It is to be exercised only when as supreme teacher this man is officially deciding for all nations, that is for the whole Church, some question [of faith or morals] concerning that *all*.

Now we have the full, clear plan of Christ's Church. Christ pictured His Church as an organized body having:

- 1 *One man at the head, a supreme infallible teacher.*
- 2 *A permanent board of official teachers under him.*
- 3 *Teaching in all nations.*
- 4 *The same doctrine.*

*I am with you alway even unto the end of the world.*

Therefore this Church is in the world to-day.

### THE CHURCH OF THE PLAN

As Christ's Church is in the world to-day and has a clear-cut organization made up of one man at the head, duly incorporated teachers the world over, teaching the same doctrine, it should be easy for us to find it. Let us

now do so. Bring up all the denominations or "churches" in the world to-day and test them by the specifications of the plan. Which one has for the whole world one man at the head, duly incorporated teachers, teaching the same doctrine the world around? It needs no deep research to find this out. The facts are patent. A moment's thought will suffice to show that evidently no church has this structure save the *Catholic Church*.

Everybody knows about the Pope of Rome: and how Catholics look on him as their supreme teacher and arbiter in all that touches the doctrine of Christ. The Catholic bishops, the duly incorporated, that is, ordained, teachers, aided by the priests, are in all nations. And everywhere is the Catholic doctrine the same. This is evidenced by that little book from which Catholic children the world over, learn the doctrine of their religion. That little book is called the catechism. Every nation has its catechism printed in its own language, yet if you read these various catechisms you will find the same doctrine exactly in them all.

Catholics of all nationalities come to America, yet recognize in the American Catholic priest the same teacher as in their priest at home. The writer of this pamphlet is the Catholic Chaplain in one of the New York City institutions, wherein he comes in contact with Catholics born in all the nations of Europe and various parts of America; and they all recognize in him, as he does in them individually, one who has the same faith, the same doctrine, the same sacraments, the same practices of religion, and the same supreme teacher, the Pope, of their one and identical Church.

Now, we are ready to put our conclusions into the following syllogism: The Church of Christ, according to

the plan drawn up by Him, destined to exist through all time, has one supreme, infallible teacher at the head, with official teachers under him, teaching the same doctrine through all nations.

But the Catholic Church is the only Church in the world to-day that acknowledges one supreme, infallible teacher at the head, the Pope, and which has official teachers, bishops aided by the priests, under him, teaching the same doctrine through all nations.

Hence, only the Catholic Church is Christ's Church. But, "what is Christ's is God's." Hence the Catholic Church is God's; the *others then are not*. The logic is ruthless. But Christ, the Architect, and facts make the logic, and we must take it as it stands.

#### FOUNDATION RE-INFORCED

In confirmation of the idea implied by the word *rock*, namely, that there was to be in the Church of Christ one man who was to be divinely endowed, since divinely commissioned, to be the main support to the unity of structure and of doctrine in the Church of Christ, we find that on two occasions besides the one treated of above, Our Lord singles out the same man, Peter, the *rock*, and in two distinct ways re-inforces the fact that He intended that there should be in His Church one supreme teacher and ruler. The first of these occasions is found mentioned in Luke xxii, 31, 32. It is in Our Lord's discourse at the Last Supper:

*And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.*

Notice in these words the change from the plural *you* to the singular *thee*. Satan has tried and will try to undo Christ's work, in the building of His Church; but, *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* (Matt. xvi, 18.) Why? *I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not. . . strengthen thy brethren.* Christ has prayed for Peter. Christ is God. For Christ to pray is for God to will. Hence a decree has gone forth from God that Peter's faith shall not fail, so that he can be the strengthener, the support of his brethren: the *rock* idea again, with all that it means when applied to an infallible teacher. Peter's subsequent denial that he "knew" Christ was not a lapse from "faith," but from courage, from charity. That "Peter went out and wept bitterly" (Luke xxii, 62) shows that Peter still believed in Christ. Here in the weeping bitterly is the conversion spoken of above.

The second occasion was on the shore of the lake, when Christ appeared and after breakfasting with His Apostles called Peter aside, and the scene narrated in John xxi, 16 and following, took place. We quote from it only the words we need: *Simon Peter, lovest thou me? . . . Feed My lambs. . . . Feed My sheep. . . . Feed My sheep.* In the thirty-fourth chapter of Ezechiel God tells us that He Himself will come and visit His sheep, that He will be their Shepherd; and intimates that after His coming His flock henceforth will be ever more secure than before.

In John x, 11, Christ proclaims the fulfilment of that prophecy when He announces to the world: *I am the good shepherd.* He ensures the future security of His flock, intimated in Ezechiel, when, just before leaving the world, He gives to His *visible* flock a *visible* shepherd,

by saying to Peter: Feed my lambs, Feed my sheep; be thou the shepherd of my flock. The shepherd is the ruler, protector and feeder of the flock. The food for Christ's flock is Christ's doctrine; again the *all*. The Christ-commissioned shepherd is then the Christ-empowered feeder of the flock. Now, how can this shepherd feed surely the doctrine of Christ, if he have not an eye incapable of erring in the discerning of the food: if he have not, again, the gift of infallibility?

Consequently, Christ's Church is to rest upon one man as upon a rock; the teachers and members of that Church are to have one to *strengthen* them; the flock of Christ, the large and the small, the sheep and the lambs, the teachers and the taught, are to have a shepherd. Now, only the Catholic Church to-day acknowledges in its structure and its organization, a rock, a confirmer, a shepherd; all three offices attributed to the Pope, as all three offices were assigned to Peter; and therefore, only the Catholic Church corresponds to the plans of that organization which He called *My Church*.

After reading the above, recall the words of Our Lord given in Matt. xviii, 17: *If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican*, that is, as one not of the Church and an outcast, and we see the relations that must be assured by the honest investigator between himself and the Roman Catholic Church. *I am with you alway. He that is with me is against me.—Matt. xii, 30.*

## THE HAPPINESS OF CATHOLICISM

BY MGR. ROBERT HUGH BENSON

It is one of the promises of the Gospel that they who accept it and live up to it shall find their reward not only in the life everlasting but "now in this present time," and a hundredfold.

Now it is obvious that this promise is not one of merely material possessions: it is not a fact that a man who embraces Catholicism finds his wealth necessarily on the increase; it is not a fact that Catholic countries are more materially prosperous than Protestant: in fact the apparent opposite of this is actually advanced as an argument against the truth of the Catholic religion, as if we still lived under the Old Dispensation when flocks and herds and milk and honey were the most evident signs of God's favor, and not under the New Dispensation in which the persecuted and the sorrowful and the poor are pronounced particularly blessed! Yet it is simply beyond question that the Catholic, soul for soul, is incalculably happier than the Protestant, and thus actually inherits Christ's promises: so far happier that a number of phrases—such as "living in a fool's paradise"; "deserving to be deceived"; "the luxury of an infallible authority"—have had to be coined, in order to discount this undeniable fact. Whence does this happiness proceed?

Primarily, it would appear, Catholic joy is a direct result of the gift of faith. "Faith," says St. Paul, "is the substance of things hoped for, the conviction of things

that appear not." It is, in a sense, an actual possession, though not through the medium of the senses; it foreruns hope; it apprehends those things toward which love strives. "You *are* come to Mount Sion, and the city of the living God," says the same Apostle in the same letter. To those who possess faith Jerusalem is not a shadowy city glimmering through the clouds; it is a commonwealth come down from God out of heaven, of which they are already citizens. Compare with this the faith, such as it is, of the most sincere Protestant. To him Jerusalem is yet to come; and its earthly counterpart is all in ruins, or rather it is yet more lamentable than any ordinary ruin, since it has never yet been unified or coherent; never yet has Christ's promise been fulfilled of the coming of that Church against which the gates of hell should not prevail, of that house founded upon a rock against which the storms shall beat in vain. Is it any wonder then that, as such a man contemplates what he believes to be Christendom, he should be despairing rather than hopeful, depressed rather than serene?

Flowing from this source of faith, there come, for the Catholic, a hundred further streams of joy. Since the Jerusalem of which he is a citizen is "at unity with itself," he finds an assurance of confidence such as the Protestant can only hope for in heaven. The Catholic finds his faith ratified and secured by the extraordinary chorus of harmony in which he takes his part; he finds his faith redoubled by the sight of the unanimity with which, throughout the world, souls of the most diverse temperament and circumstance, proclaim their adherence to that creed which he also professes. To the Protestant, all is in confusion; to the Protestant, on his theory of Christianity, the amazing discordance of voices seems to spoil all the

music; the disunion of his companions offers to him the most compelling argument against the divinity of his religion. Is it any wonder that his heart should sometimes fail for fear; that his deepest convictions should continually shake upon their foundations; and that the joy of faith—or rather of such parts of it as he possesses—should be shadowed again and again by the awful doubt that all may be no more than a dream? How can Christ be risen? How can the rays of the Spirit shed such twilight? In what sense has Christ conquered death and Satan, if, in Christ's own kingdom there still reign in such triumph the very doubts and disunions from which He came to deliver man?

Again, contrast the Catholic religion with the Protestant in another aspect. Man consists of both body and soul. Though he is a spiritual being, yet his joy is not full, in this world, nor indeed even in the next, until the rightful claims of the body are satisfied. Christ, Our Lord, therefore, designed the sacramental system of the Church expressly to meet this need of man, and by throwing grace, so to speak, into material form, and supremely, by offering the highest form of union with Himself under material veils, approaches man's double nature along channels which he can apprehend. Compare with this the Protestant belief: That the body is scarcely more than a clog upon the soul's progress; that the sacraments are memorials of a past, rather than an earnest of the present; that, even, in extreme cases, the beauty of moral sounds and colors can be nothing else than a distraction to a soul seeking her Creator. Is it any wonder that the Catholic is satisfied already with God's "likeness" to which the Protestant can only aspire far off?

Lastly, in the Communion of Saints, as understood by



the Catholic, there is presented to him, as never to the Protestant, the satisfaction of that which perhaps, next to the soul's need of God, is the deepest desire of his nature: the need of an open and authorized approach to the spirits of the blest. To the Catholic death is a separation on our side only, never on the side of the saints. To the Catholic believer Mary looks down with her motherly eyes upon even the most miserable of the children of Eve; sinners, who by penitence have risen to sanctity, themselves help us sinners by their prayers and their sympathy; holy virgins intercede for the defiled, and martyrs for those who suffer. Indeed God gives to the Catholic for every joy he renounces a thousandfold more; for every darkness a hundred dawns; for every human relationship that is sacrificed for Christ's sake a heavenly, instead; for "lands and houses" the whole earth which is His foot-stool; for every cross a crown. And all this a hundredfold, now in this present time, as well as life everlasting in that time which is eternal.

## INFALLIBILITY

BY THE REV. HENRY WOODS, S.J.

Did Christ establish a visible infallible Church? Did He establish it unchangeable in its constitution to the end of time? Has that Church as its fundamental function the mission to teach infallibly all people, in all places and at all times? If so, is not infallibility in teaching as essential to-day to its vital activity, as in the apostolic age; so that if this be lost, or only remotely potential, its mission and functions are changed? Answer these questions affirmatively, and the acceptance of the whole Catholic position is the necessary consequence. Answer them negatively, and the sects, with their contradictions, mutations and multiplications can not be gainsaid. It is infallible authority against private judgment. Whether the subject matter be the Bible, or tradition, or ecumenical councils, or ecclesiastical history, all are in themselves the dead letter of the past. If they are to have living force in the present, they must be vivified by the interpretation of the living voice. This must be the voice of living infallible authority, or that of the living fallible individual. In doubtful points one must follow his own private judgment, or hear the living Church. To interpret them for one's self according to one's understanding of the voice of the Church in ages past and gone, is but a particular phase of private judgment.

Those who do not face the essence of the problem, busy themselves often with matters unessential. They

find differences of opinions among Catholics. Some theologians hold, for example, the Syllabus of Pius IX, an *ex cathedra* utterance: others deny it. The Episcopalian, seeking to justify himself, assumes that this diversity of view reaches out to the dogma itself. The assumption is absurd. The truths revealed by God and contained in the deposit of faith as defined by the Vatican Council constitute *one* thing composed of many essential parts or articles, and these are believed by all in their entirety, implicitly at least, when an act of supernatural faith is elicited in any one article, whether it be the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the Incarnation, or of Transubstantiation, or of the Immaculate Conception.

The individual instances in which the Pope speaks *ex cathedra* can not be a matter of revelation. Each is to be determined either by the voice of the Pope himself, or from the circumstances. To institute a parallel between such differences of theological opinion and the contradictions among Episcopalians—some holding for instance, to the Virgin birth, others denying it; some holding to Our Lord's natural filiation, others to a mere adoption, some to the physical resurrection, others to a metaphorical resurrection only—is a perversion unintelligible to those who possess the first principles of theology and logic.

Again, much is made of the differences between those who to-day are called Integralists and Liberals, as if in them papal infallibility were involved directly. The most fervent Integralist in proclaiming the duty of Catholics to be with the Pope in all things, does not dream for a moment that the Pontiff in his dealings with the Church in France, his regulating of seminaries, his prohibition of the admission of certain books into them, his prescrib-

ing of the method of teaching in certain universities, and so on, is exercising his prerogative of infallibility. It is his authority that is in question. As this is supreme, as he is the Vicar of Christ, responsible to Him only, and to none other, it is the duty of every Christian to subject himself absolutely to that authority, and to obey in all sincerity the voice of him who, set to rule the whole flock of Christ, has all those special helps to discharge his office, which we call the "grace of state." To criticize, to minimize, to economize, detract from obedience, according to the degree to which they are carried, not necessarily from faith. One may deplore the fact that the revolt against authority, characteristic of the world to-day, manifests itself ever so faintly in the Church of God; one may grieve that such a spirit hampers, however so little, the Father of all the faithful in his functions, and adds to his difficulties and cares; one may foresee that a spirit of disobedience may have sad results for those who persist in it; but no one will dare to say that it involves immediately and formally the faith of the individual, still less that of the Catholic Church.

For there is this essential difference between the Church and the sects. The Church lives, animated with the Holy Spirit. It lives a supernatural, divine life. It has the power, therefore, to cast out the errors that raise among its members, and so preserve itself pure and stainless, the true bride of Christ. Not so the sects. These temporize and make terms with error. Heretical themselves, cut off from infallible authority, established on private judgment, they are powerless in the presence of heresy. Compare the action of the Church regarding Modernism with the passivity of the Episcopal Church in England and America. The former dealt with it, as it

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dealt with Arianism, Nestorianism, Lutheranism, Jansenism, with all the heresies. It spoke the word; and those who would not hear the word were cast out. Their talents, their reputation, the favor they enjoyed with the world and its rulers, did not save them, while those who heard and obeyed, however painful they found it, were withdrawn from the path of error.

## WAS ST. PETER IN ROME?

BY THE REV. WALTER DWIGHT, S.J.

A certain Protestant reviewer of Mrs. Hugh Fraser's excellent book, "Italian Yesterdays," after remarking that there is "not a scrap of contemporaneous evidence proving that St. Peter was ever in Rome," considers the author's assertion that "St. Peter held that See for many years" as a lamentable instance of what historical errors the "spirit of credulity" can lead a writer to make. If Mrs. Fraser is credulous in this matter she has the comfort of knowing that she shares that weakness with ancient Fathers and modern scholars not a few. For the sake of the argument it may be granted that contemporary writers make no express mention of the stay of St. Peter in Rome. The Apostle, however, concludes his Second Epistle with a salutation from "the church that is in Babylon," or figuratively, Rome. But the writing of true history need not take place necessarily in the same age as the events narrated. Citations from Migne's *Patrology*, which are familiar to the student of ecclesiastical history, prove that ancient Christian authors had no doubt of St. Peter's stay in Rome. Caius, for instance, who wrote his work in Rome during the pontificate of Zephyrinus (202-219) describes the tomb of the Apostle at the Vatican. Tertullian (died after 222) reminds the African Church that Peter established his pontifical seat in Rome, that he baptized in the Tiber, as John had done in the Jordan, and endured in Rome the same tortures which his Lord had suffered. St. Dionysius of Corinth,

in the latter half of the second century, testifies to the same facts. Clement (about 150-212) and his disciple Origen (185-255) likewise relates these events. St. Irenaeus (died 202) twice alludes to the fact that Peter and Paul founded the Roman Church. Now, the Bishop of Lyons had known many contemporaries of the Apostle in Asia, and was a disciple of St. Polycarp. St. Polycarp had listened to the teachings of St. John the Evangelist, and had conversed with the other disciples who had seen Our Lord.

Thus testify the Fathers. Non-Catholic scholars of modern times are also of the opinion that St. Peter was in Rome. It is conclusively proved by the author of the Bampton Lectures for 1913. We also have M. Renan's remarkable concession. He writes in his "L'Anti-Christ": "I regard the tradition of Peter's sojourn at Rome as very probable, but I believe that his stay was of short duration, and that Peter suffered martyrdom a little while after his arrival in the Eternal City."

Dr. Döllinger attests in his "First Age of Christianity": "That St. Peter worked in Rome is a fact so abundantly proved and so deeply imbedded in the earliest Christian history, that whoever treats it as a legend ought in consistency to treat the whole of the earliest Church history as legendary." And A. Harnack, whose authority is probably of more weight with the Protestant reviewer and most of his readers than is Migne's entire *Patrology*, not only grants in his "Chronologie de althristlichen Literature," that from a literary and historical point of view, "the oldest literature of the Church is in the main and in most details true and reliable," but in an address delivered at the University of Berlin, January 12, 1907, he made this striking admission:

"Flavius and the older Protestants denied that Peter had ever been in Rome at all. Now we know that his having been there is a fact well evidenced in history."

Even if ancient Fathers and modern scholars had said nothing of St. Peter's sojourn in Rome, the very stones of that city bear eloquent testimony to his residence there. What Christian archeology has to say on the subject Rossi and Lanciani have told us. The latter states in his valuable work, "Christian and Pagan Rome."

"For the archeologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence. . . . There is no event of the imperial age and of imperial Rome which is attested by so many noble structures all of which point to the same conclusion—the presence and execution of the Apostles in the capital of the empire."

If St. Peter did not live and die in Rome, the noble basilica which is believed to enshrine his relics is a splendid lie, and the clergy and faithful who journey devoutly *ad limina Apostolorum* are foolish dupes. Is that the delicate compliment those who maintain that St. Peter never was in Rome intend to pay Catholics?



